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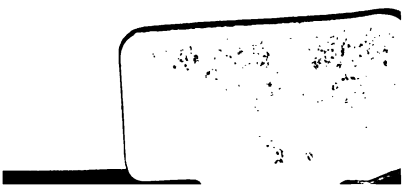
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THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE FIFTH BOOK.

THE year now being come to an end, I return again to G. Fox, whom we left at Newcastle. Whilst he was there, he, with Anthony Pearson visited some of the aldermen; and among these one Ledger, who as well as the priests, had said, the Quakers would not come into any great towns, but lived in the fields like butterflies. G. Fox desired to have a meeting amongst them; but they would not yield to it. He therefore asked Ledger, whether they had not called his friends butterflies, and said, they would not come into any great towns? "But," said he, "now we are come into your town, you will not come to us: who are the butterflies now?" Then Ledger began to plead for the sabbath *day*; which made G. Fox say, they *kept markets* on that which was the sab-

bath day, for that was the seventh day of the week; whereas that day which the professed Christians now meet on, and call their sabbath, was the first day of the week. No leave for a public meeting being obtained, G. Fox got a little meeting among his friends, and some friendly people, at Gateside.

Travelling from thence, and passing through Northumberland, and Bishoprick, he came to Durham, where was a man come down from London to set up a college there, to make ministers of Christ, as they said. G. Fox entering into discourse with this man said, that to teach men Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, and the seven arts, was not the way to make them ministers of Christ; for the languages began at Babel; and to the Greeks that spake Greek as their mother tongue, the preaching of the cross of Christ was foolishness; and to the Jews that spake Hebrew as their mother tongue, Christ was a stumbling-block. And as for the Romans who spake Latin, they persecuted the Christians; and Pilate, one of the Roman governors, set Hebrew, Greek, and Latin a top of Christ when he crucified him. Thus the languages, which began at Babel, had been set above Christ, the word And John the Divine, who preached the word, that was in the beginning, *said that* the beast and the whore had power *over tongues and* languages, and they were as

waters, and in the mystery Babylon, for they began at Babel; and the persecutors of Christ set them over him, when he was crucified by them. "Dost thou think," said G. Fox to the man, "to make ministers of Christ by these natural confused languages, which sprang from Babel, are admired in Babylon, and set a top of Christ, the life, by a persecutor?" the man puzzled a little by this, confest to many things spoken by G. Fox. Then it was shewed him farther, that Christ made his ministers himself, and gave gifts unto them, and bid them pray to the Lord of the harvest, to send forth labourers: that Peter and John, though unlearned and ignorant as to school-learning, preached Christ the word, which was in the beginning before Babel was: and that Paul also was made an apostle, not of man, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ, who is the same now, and so is his gospel, as it was at that day. This discourse had such effect upon the man, that he became very loving, and having considered the matter farther he never set up his intended college.

From Durham G. Fox passed to Nottingham, where he gathered again a scattered people, that having about eight years before been convinced of the truth, had been led aside by one Rice Jones.

From hence he went into Warwickshire, and passing through Northamptonshire, and

Leicestershire, he came into Bedfordshire, and so on to John Crook's house, where a general yearly meeting was appointed, which lasted three days; and many of G. Fox's friends from most parts of the nation came to it, so that the inns in the towns thereabouts were filled. Here was also William Caton, who after the meeting was ended, went with Thomas Salthouse, formerly his fellow-servant in the house of judge Fell, to Westmoreland, Cumberland, and Swarthmore in Lancashire. In the said general meeting G. Fox made a long speech concerning the several states of men, but more especially for instruction of the ministers of the word, exhorting them at large to be circumspect in their station.

After the meeting was over, there came a party of horse with a constable, to seize upon G. Fox, who then was walking in J Crook's garden; and though somebody, when they came to the house, had told them G. Fox was there, yet they were so confounded that they came not into the garden to look for him, but went away without him.

Parting from thence, he came to London, where he heard that a Jesuit who was come over with an ambassador from Spain, had challenged all the Quakers, to dispute with them at the earl of Newport's house. G. Fox then let *him* know by some of his friends, that they *would meet him*; whereupon the Jesuit sent

him word, he would meet with twelve of the wisest men they had. A while after he sent word, he would meet with but six: and after that, he sent word again, he would have but three to come. Then G. Fox went, with Edward Burrough and one Nicholas Bond to the aforesaid house, and bade them to go up, and enter upon the discourse with the Jesuit, whilst he would be walking in the yard, and then come up after them. He had advised them to state this question; Whether the church of Rome, as it now stood, was not degenerated from the true church which was in the primitive times, from the life and doctrine, and from the power and spirit that those believers were in? They having stated the question accordingly, the Jesuit affirmed, that the church of Rome now was in the virginity and purity of the primitive church. By this time G. Fox being come in, the Jesuit was asked, whether they had the Holy Ghost poured out upon them, as the apostles had? And he said, "No." Then said G. Fox, "If ye have not the same Holy Ghost poured forth upon you, and the same power and spirit, that the apostles had, then ye are degenerated from the power and spirit, which the primitive church was in." And he asked the Jesuit, what Scripture they had for setting up cloisters for nuns, abbies and monasteries for men, and for their praying by beads and to im-

ages, and for making crosses, for forbidding of meats and marriages, and for putting people to death for religion? "If," said he, "ye are in the practice of the primitive church, in its purity and virginity, then let us see by Scripture, whenever they practised such things?" For it was agreed mutually, that both the Jesuit and the Quakers should make good by Scripture what they said. Then the Jesuit said, there was a written and an unwritten word. Which made G. Fox ask, what he called his unwritten word? And he answered, "The written word is the Scriptures, and the unwritten word is that which the apostles spake by word of mouth, which are all those traditions that we practise." Then G. Fox bid him prove that by Scripture; and the Jesuit alleged the words of the apostle, 2 Thess, ii. 5. "When I was with you, I told you these things:" That is "said he "I told you of nunneries and monasteries, of putting to death for religion, and of praying by beads and to images," &c This he affirmed to be the unwritten word of the apostles, which they told then, and had since been continued by tradition unto these times. Then G. Fox desired him to read that Scripture again, that he might see how he had perverted the apostle's words, since that which the apostle said there he had told them *before, and was not* an unwritten word, but was *written down there*; namely, that the man of

sin, the son of perdition, should be revealed before that great and terrible day of Christ, which he was writing of, should come. And therefore this was not telling them any of those things the church of Rome practised. Besides, the apostle in the third chapter of the said epistle told the church of some disorderly persons he heard were amongst them, busy bodies, who did not work at all, concerning whom he had commanded them by his unwritten word, when he was among them that if any would not work, neither should he eat; which now he commanded them again in his written words in this epistle, 2 Thess. iii.

The Jesuit now finding no other scriptural proof for the tradition of the church of Rome, let that point fall, and came to the sacrament of the altar, to prove the reality of which, he began with the paschal lamb, and the shew bread, and so came to the words of Christ, "This is my body", and to what the apostle wrote to the Corinthians, concluding from thence, that after the priest had consecrated the bread and wine, it was immortal and divine, and that he who received it, received the whole Christ. To this G. Fox said, that the same apostle told the Corinthians, after they had taken bread *and* wine in remembrance of *Christ's death, that* they were reprobates if *Christ were not in them.* But that if the bread

they ate was Christ, he must of necessity have been in them, after they had eaten it. Besides if the bread and wine which the Corinthians ate and drank, was Christ's body, how then (continued he) hath Christ a body in heaven? And he also signified to him, that both the disciples, at the supper, and the Corinthians afterwards were to eat the bread and drink the wine in remembrance of Christ, and to shew forth his death till he came; which plainly proves, that the bread and wine which they took, was not his body. For if it had been his real body that they ate, then he had been come, and was then there present; and it would have been improper to have done such a thing in remembrance of him, if he had been then present with them: as he must have been, if that bread and wine, which they ate and drank, had been his real body. And as to the words of Christ, "This is my body." G. Fox told him, "Christ calls himself a vine, and a door, and is called in Scripture a rock; is Christ therefore an outward rock, door or vine?" "O, said the Jesuit, the words are to be interpreted." "So," said G. Fox "are those words of Christ," "This is my body." And having thus stopped the Jesuit's mouth, he made this proposal: that, seeing he said that the bread and wine were immortal *and divine, and the* very Christ, and that whosoever *received it,* received the whole Christ;



a meeting might be appointed between some such Papists as the pope and his cardinals should appoint, and some of those called Quakers: "And then," said he, "let a bottle of wine, and a loaf of bread be brought and divided each into two parts, and let them consecrate which of those parts they will: and then let the consecrated and the unconsecrated bread and wine be set in a safe place, with a sure watch upon it; and let trial then be made, whether the consecrated bread and wine will not lose its goodness, viz. the bread grow dry and mouldy, and the wine turn dead and sour, as well and as soon as that which was unconsecrated; for by this means the truth of this matter may be made manifest. And if the consecrated bread and wine change not, but retain their savour and goodness, this may be a means to draw many to your church. But if they change, decay, and lose their goodness, then you ought to confess and forsake your error, and shed no more blood about it, as hath been done, especially in Queen Mary's days." To this the Jesuit made his reply; "Take a piece of new cloth, and cut it into two pieces, and make two garments of it, and put one of them upon King David's back, and the other upon a beggar's, and the one garment shall wear away as well as the other," *is this thy answer?*" said G. Fox "Yes," *the Jesuit.* Then said G. Fox, "by this

the company may all be satisfied, that your consecrated bread and wine is not Christ. Dost thou now say that the consecrated bread and wine, which you have told the people was immortal and divine, and the real body and blood of Christ, will wear away, or decay as well as the other? Then I must tell thee, Christ remains the same to day as yesterday, and never decays: but is the saints heavenly food in all generations, through which they have life," To this the Jesuit replied no more, but let the thing fall; for he perceived that those who were present saw his error, and that he could not defend it.

Then G. Fox asked him, why the church of Rome did persecute, and put people to death for religion? And he answered, it was not the church did it, but the magistrates. G. Fox asked whether those magistrates were not counted and called believers and Christians? "Yes," said he. "Are they not members of your church?" asked G. Fox. "Yes," said the Jesuit. Then G. Fox left it to the people to judge, whether the church of Rome did not persecute, and put people to death for religion. Thus they parted: the jesuit's subtilty being comprehended by the simplicity of G. Fox, and his friends.

Whilst G. Fox was in London, his friends, both in England and Ireland, were under great *sufferings, which* made him write to the protector *about it: and* there being then much talk

of making Cromwell king, he went to him, and warned him against it, because of the dangers that would attend it; and which, if he did not avoid, would bring shame and ruin upon him and his posterity. Which counsel Cromwell seemed to take well, and thanked him for it: yet G. Fox wrote also concerning the same thing to him in this manner.

"O Protector,

"Who hast tasted of the power of God, which many generations before thee have not so much, since the days of apostacy from the apostles, take heed that thou lose not thy power; but keep kingship off thy head, which the world would give thee; and earthly crowns under thy feet, lest with that thou cover thyself, and so lose the power of God. When the children of Israel went from that of God in them, they would have kings as other nations had, as transgressors had; and so God gave them one; and what did they do then? And when they would have taken Christ, and made him a king, he hid himself from them; he was hid from that which would have made him a king, he who was the king of the Jews inward.——O Oliver, take heed of undoing thyself, by running into things that will fade, the *things* of this world that will change. *Be subject and* obedient to the Lord God.

"George Fox."

About this time G. Fox wrote also another letter to O. Cromwell, wherein he signified to him, that if he had been faithful, and thundered down deceit, he would yet have done many mighty things. And he also advised him, not to slight sober men, and true hearts; but to mind the law of God, and his fear and dread; to take heed of flatteries, and to prize his time now he had it.

The lady Claypole, Cromwell's most beloved daughter, being sick, and much troubled in mind, so that none that came could administer any comfort to her, G. Fox visited her with the following letter.

"Friend,

"Be still and cool in thy own mind and spirit from thy own thoughts, and then thou wilt feel the principle of God, to turn thy mind to the Lord God, from whom life comes; whereby thou mayest receive his strength, and power to allay all blustering storms and tempests. That is it which works up into patience, into innocency, into soberness, into stillness, into stayedness, into quietness, up to God with his power. Therefore mind, that is the word of the Lord unto thee, that the authority of God, thou mayest feel, and thy faith in that, to work down that which troubles thee: for that is it which *keeps peace, and brings* up the witness in thee,

which hath been transgressed, to feel after God with his power and life, who is a God of order and peace. When thou art in the transgression of the life of God in thy own particular, the mind flies up in the air, and the creature is led into the night, and nature goes out of its course, and an old garment goes on, and an uppermost clothing; and thy nature being led out of its course, it comes to be all on a fire, in the transgression; and that defaceth the glory of the first body. Therefore be still a while from thy own thoughts, searching, seeking, desires, and imaginations, and be stayed in the principle of God in thee, that it may raise thy mind up to God, and stay it upon God, and thou wilt find strength from him, and find him to be a God at hand, a present help in the time of trouble, and of need. And thou being come to the principle of God, which hath been transgressed, it will keep thee humble; and the humble God will teach his way, which is peace, and such he doth exalt. Now as the principle of God in thee hath been transgressed, come to it, that it may keep thy mind down low to the Lord God; and deny thyself, and from thy own will, that is the earthly, thou must be kept: then thou wilt feel the power of God, which will bring nature into its course, and *give thee* to see the glory of the first *body. And there* the wisdom of God will *be received (which is* Christ, by which all things

were made and created) to be thereby preserved and ordered to God's glory. There thou wilt come to receive and feel the physician of value, who clothes people in their right mind, whereby they may serve God, and do his will. For all distractions, unruliness, and confusion, is in the transgression ; which transgression must be brought down, before the principle of God, which hath been transgressed against, be lifted up; whereby the mind may be seasoned and stilled, and a right understanding of the Lord may be received; whereby his blessings enter, and are felt, over all that is contrary, in the power of the Lord God, which raiseth up the principle of God within, and gives a feeling after God, and in time gives dominion. Therefore keep in the fear of the Lord God; that is the word of the Lord God unto thee ; for all these things happen to thee for thy good, and for the good of those concerned for thee, to make you know yourselves, and your own weakness, and that ye may know the Lord's strength and power, and may trust in him. Therefore let the time that is past be sufficient to every one, who in any thing hath been lifted up in transgression, out of the power of the Lord: for he can bring down and abase the mighty, and lay them in the dust of the earth. Therefore all keep low in his fear, that thereby *ye may receive the* secrets of God and his wis-

dom, and may know the shadow of the Almighty, and sit under it in all tempests, storms, and heats. For God is a God at hand, and the Most High rules in the children of men. So then, this is the word of the Lord God unto you all, what the light doth make manifest and discover, as temptations, distractions, confusions, do not look at the temptations, confusions, corruptions, but at the light which discovers them, and makes them manifest. And with the same light you may feel over them, to receive power to stand against them. The same light which lets you see sin and transgression, will let you see the covenant of God, which blots out your sin and transgression, which gives victory and dominion over it, and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at sin, and corruption, and distraction, ye are swallowed up in it: but looking at the light which discovers them, ye will see over them: that will give victory, and ye will find grace and strength; and there is the first step to peace. That will bring salvation, and by it ye may see to the beginning, and the glory that was with the Father before the world began; and so come to know the seed of God, which is the heir of the promise of God, and of the world which hath no end, and which bruises the head *of the* serpent, who stops people *from coming to* God. That ye may feel *the power of an* endless life, the power of God

which is immortal, which brings the immortal soul up to the immortal God, in whom it doth rejoice. So in the name and power of the Lord Jesus Christ, God Almighty strengthen thee.

"G. F."

The paper being read to the aforesaid lady, it staid her mind somewhat: but she lived not long after; so that O. Cromwell met with almost continual trouble, for discontent against him increased more and more.

Now since the Protestants in the valley of Lucern, and elsewhere, were much persecuted, there came forth a declaration from the protector to keep a fast, and one also for a collection for the relief of distressed Protestant churches.

On this occasion, G. Fox to shew what kind of fast it was that God requires and accepts, wrote the following paper.

To the heads and governors of this nation, who have put forth a declaration, for the keeping a day of solemn fasting and humiliation, for the persecution (as you say) of divers people beyond the seas, professing the reformed religion, which (ye say) hath been transmitted unto them from their ancestors.

"A profession of the reformed religion may be transmitted to generations, and so held by *tradition; and in that,* wherein the profession

and tradition is held, is the day of humiliation kept; which stands in the will of man, which is not the fast which the Lord requires, to bow down the head like a bulrush for a day, and the day followiug be in the same condition as they were the day before. To the light of Christ Jesus in your consciences do I speak, which testifieth for God every day, and witnesseth against all sin and persecution, which measure of God, if ye be guided by it, doth not limit God to a day, but leads to the fast which the Lord requires, which is, "To loose the bonds of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to break every yoke, and to let the oppressed go free," Isa. lviii. 6. 7. This is the fast which the Lord requires; and this stands not in the transmission of times, nor in the traditions of men: but this stands in that which was before times were, and which leads out of time, and shall be, when time shall be no more. And these that teach for doctrine the commandments of men, are they that ever persecuted the life and power when it came. And whereas ye mention a decree or edict, which was made against the said persecuted Protestants; all such decrees, or edicts, proceed from the ground of the pope's religion and supremacy; and therein stands his tyranny and cruelty, *acted in* that will, which is in that *nature, which* exerciseth lordship over one *another, (as you* may read, Mark x. 42. Luke

cxii, 25.) as all the heathen do, and ever did: and in the heathenish nature is all the tyranny and persecution exercised, by them that are out of the obedience to the light of Christ Jesus in the conscience, which is the guide and leader of all who are tender of that of God in the conscience. But those who are not led by this, know not what it is to suffer for conscience sake.

"Now, whereas ye take into your consideration the sad persecution, tyranny and cruelty exercised upon them, whom ye call your Protestant brethren, and do contribute and administer to their wants outwardly; this is good in its place, and we own it, and see it good to administer to the necessities of others, and to do good to all: and we who are sufferers by a law derived from the pope, are willing to join, and to contribute with you, to their outward necessities. "For the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof;" who is good to all, and gracious to all, and willing that all should be saved, and come to the knowledge of the truth. But in the meantime, whilst ye are doing this, and taking notice of others cruelty, tyranny, and persecution, turn your eye upon yourselves, and see what ye are doing at home. To the light of Christ Jesus in all your consciences I speak which cannot lie nor err nor bear false *witness for God, and* cries for equity, and justice, *and righteousness* to be executed. See what

ye are doing who profess the Scriptures, which were given forth by the saints in light who dwelt in the light and in the life of them. For they, who do now witness the same light, the same life, and the same power which gave forth the Scriptures, which ye in words profess, them ye persecute, them ye hale out of your synagogues and markets; them ye beat, stock, and imprison. Now let that of God in your consciences, which is just and righteous, and equal, examine and try, whether ye have any example or precedent to exercise this persecution, which now many in this nation suffer under, who are a people harmless and innocent, walking in obedience towards God and man. And though ye account the way of truth they walk in, heresy; yet therein do they exercise themselves to have always a conscience void of offence towards God and man, as ye may read the saints of old did (Acts xxiv. 14, 15, 16,) not wronging any man, neither giving any just cause of offence; only being obedient to the commands of the Lord, to declare, as they are moved by the Holy Ghost; and standing for the testimony of a good conscience, speaking the truth in Christ, their consciences bearing them witness that they lie not: for this do they suffer under you, who in words profess the same thing for which they suffer.

"*Now see if* any age or generation did ever

persecute as ye do: for ye profess Christ Jesus who reveals the Father, and persecute them that witness the revelation of the Father by Christ Jesus unto them. Ye profess Christ Jesus, who is the light of the world, "that enlightens every one that cometh into the world," and yet persecute them that bear witness, and give testimony to this light. Ye profess that the word is become flesh, and ye persecute them that witness it so. Ye confess that whosoever confesseth not that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh is an antichrist, and yet persecute them that do confess him come in the flesh, and call them antichrists and deceivers. Ye profess that the kingdom of Christ is come, and yet persecute them that witness it come. Ye profess Christ Jesus the resurrection and the life, and yet persecute them that witness him to be so. If ye say, "How shall we know that these people who say they witness these things, do so or no? I answer, Turn your minds to the light which Christ Jesus hath enlightened you withal, which is one in all; and if ye walk in the light, ye shall have the light of life, and then ye will know and see what ye have done, who have persecuted the Lord of glory (in his people) in whom is life, and the life is the light of men. To no other touchstone shall we turn you, but into your own consciences, and there ye shall find *the truth of what we have* declared unto you,

and of what we bear testimony to, according to the Holy Scriptures. And when the books of consciences are opened, and all judged out of them, then shall ye witness us to be of God, and our testimony to be true, though now ye may stop your ears, and harden your hearts, "while it is called to day." But then ye shall know what ye have done, and whom you have transgressed against; and then ye will see that no persecutors in any age or generation that ever went before you, did ever transgress against that light and measure of God made manifest, in such manner as ye have done. For though Christ and his apostles were persecuted in their times, the Jews, for the most part of them, did not know that he was the Christ, when he came, notwithstanding they had the Scriptures, which prophesied of him; neither did they believe that he was risen again, when the apostles preached his resurrection. But ye say ye believe he is come; and ye say ye believe his resurrection, and yet ye persecute those that witness him come in the flesh, those that are buried with him in baptism, those that are conformable to his death and know the power of his resurrection; those ye persecute, those ye hale before magistrates, and suffer to be beaten in your synagogues; those ye cause to be whipped and stocked, and shamefully entreated, and cast into prison, and

kept: as many jails in this nation, at this da testify to your faces.

"Therefore honestly consider what ye ar doing, whilst ye are taking notice of other cruel ties, lest ye overlook your own. There is som difference in many things between the Popis religion, and that which ye call the Protestant but in this persecution of yours there is no diff erence: for ye will confess that the foundatio of your religion is grounded upon the Scriptures and yet now ye are persecuting them that b in the same life that they were in who spak forth the Scriptures; yourselves being in th meanwhile under a profession of the word they spake; and this ye shall one day witness So ye have a profession and form, and persecut them that are in the possession, life and powe Therefore know assuredly that ye must com to judgment for he is made manifest to whon all judgment is committed. Therefore to th light of Christ Jesus in your consciences, whic searcheth and trieth you, turn your minds, an stand still, and wait there to receive the right eous law, which is according to God in the con science, which is now rising and is bearin witness against all unrighteousness and ungodli ness of men; and they whom ye persecute, ar manifest to God, and that of God in all consci ences shall bear witness for us, that we are o God: and this ye shall one day witness, whethe

ye will hear or forbear. Out rejoicing is in the testimony of our consciences, that in simplicity, and godly sincerity (not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God) we have had our conversation in the world, not handling the word of God deceitfully: but, in the manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God; and if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost: and for the witnessing the holding the mystery of faith in a pure conscience, do we suffer, and are subject for conscience sake. This is thankworthy, if a man for conscience sake endure griefs and suffering wrongfully. And in this is our joy and rejoicing, having a good conscience, that whereas we are evil spoken of, as evil doers, they may be ashamed, that falsely accuse our good conversation in Christ; which is not only the putting away of the filth of the flesh, but the answer of a good conscience towards God, by the resurrection of Jesus Christ. And this we witness made manifest, (eternal praises to the living God) and bear testimony to that which spake it in the apostle in life and power; and therefore do we bear witness, and testify against those, who being got into a form and profession of it, do persecute the life and power.

"Therefore to the eternal light of Christ Jesus, the searcher and trier of all hearts, turn your minds, *and see* what ye are doing, lest ye

overturn your foundation and bottom whereon ye pretend to stand, while ye are professing the Scriptures, and persecuting the life, light, and power which they were in who gave them forth. For the stone cut out of the mountain without hands, is now striking at the feet of the image, the profession which is set up, and stands in the will of man. Now is that made manifest unto which all must answer, and appear before the judgment-seat of Christ: that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore, the terror of the Lord, we persuade men; but we are made manifest unto God, and shall be made manifestin all your consciences, which ye shall witness.

"G. F."

Divers times when a fast was proclaimed, G. Fox wrote on that subject; and since commonly some mischief was then contrived against the Quakers, no wonder that he should say, that these fasts were like unto Jezebel's.

Many of his friends being at this time in prisons and dungeons, several others of them went to the parliament, and offered to lie in the same prisons where their brethren lay; that so those that were in prison, might not perish in stinking dungeons, and their persecutors thereby bring innocent blood upon their own heads.

But this could not be obtained; for some of the parliament would threaten these compassionate men that thus attended them, with whipping, if they did not desist. And because the parliament then sitting, consisted mostly of such who, pretending to be more religious than others, were indeed great persecutors of those that were truly religious, G. Fox could not let this hypocrisy go unreproved, but wrote the following lines to them:

"O friends, do not cloke and cover yourselves; there is a God that knoweth your hearts, and that will uncover you. He seeth your way: wo be to him that covereth, but not with my Spirit, saith the Lord. Do ye contrary to the law, and then put it from you? Mercy and true judgment ye neglect. Look, what is spoken against such; my Saviour spake against such: "I was sick, and ye visited me not; I was hungry, and ye fed me not; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; I was in prison and ye visited me not." But they said, "When saw we thee in prison and did not come to thee?" "Inasmuch as ye did it not unto one of these little ones, ye did it not to me." Friends, ye prison them that be in the life and power of truth, and yet profess to be the ministers of Christ: but if Christ had sent you, ye would bring out of prison, and *out of bondage*, and receive strangers

Ye have lived in pleasure on the earth, and been wanton; ye have nourished your hearts as in a day of slaughter: ye have condemned and killed the just, and he doth not resist you.

"G. F."

It was not G. Fox alone who was grieved with the said hypocrisy, but others of his friends also declared zealously against it. A certain woman came once into the parliament with a pitcher in her hand, which she breaking before them, told them, so should they be broken to pieces; which came to pass not long after. And because, when the great sufferings of G. Fox's friends were laid before O. Cromwell, he would not believe it, this gave occasion to Thomas Aldam and Anthony Pearson, to go through all, or most of the gaols in England, and get copies of their friends commitment under the jailors hands, to lay the weight of the said sufferings upon O. Cromwell, which was done; but he, unwilling to give order for their release, Thomas Aldam took his cap from off his head, and tearing it to pieces, said to him, "So shall thy government be rent from thee and thy house."

About the beginning of this year, E. Burrough wrote a letter to O. Cromwell, and his council, complaining of, and warning them

against persecution, as being what would draw down God's anger against them.

Several copies of the said letter were delivered to Oliver, and his council; and some months after E. Burrough wrote the following letter to him.

To the Protector.

"Friend,

"The salutation of my life wisheth well unto thee in the Lord, and most especially that thy precious soul may be redeemed out of death to God, and live, that thou mayest have a rest and habitation in him, when this world is no more.

"Now whereas it is a general outcry among the teachers and people among this nation, and also is doubted, and hath been sometimes objected by thyself, that the people called Quakers, are deluded, and deceived, and in error, and such like: and now, if it be possible, that thyself and others, may be resolved concerning us; put therefore all thy objections and doubtings into plain positions, or let the wisest of thy teachers do it for thee; and whatsoever thyself, or any for thee, can object against us, or what thou doubtest of, or stumblest at, either in respect of our doctrines, or practice, let the matter be stayed in plain words, in positions, or queries; and if God permit, a sufficient answer thou mayest *receive*; to remove all conscienti-

s, and to confound all subtle and
l evasions; whereby hereafter for
mayest be altogether inexcusable of
ng, or speaking against us, or suffer-
o be done, or spoken against us upon
unt. And this am I moved to give
id send thee, that thou mayest be sat-
and all things tried and made manifest
sight of all men; and that all rash judg-
and false supposition, which lodgeth in
earts of many, may be confounded and
ght to nought; and let it be left off, to cry
leceivers, and heresy, &c. and causing any
iffer on suspicion thereupon; but bring all
gs to light, and true judgment; that what
proved to be the truth may be owned, and
t persecuted any more; for we are willing to
e made manifest to all men; and if any thing
e objected against us, which may not be suffi-
iently answered, and resolved to sober men
hen our enemies are more free, and hav
whereof to glory in against us; but and if a
occasion of stumbling be removed by answe
according to the Scriptures, and our princip
practices, and doctrines thereby vindicat
then let all the teachers, and all our adversa
shut their mouths from biting at us, and ra
against us, and accusing of us to thee; an
thy ear be shut from believing lies again
... and let none suffer in thy d

under the cruelty of men, upon such a ground. Hereof I shall be glad to receive an answer, and to join issue in this cause; and in the mean-time, and always, am a lover of thy soul, but a witness against all oppression.

"E. B."

This was delivered to his hands at Hampton Court, in the 4th month, 1658.

I never understood that any thing of moment followed upon this: but about two months after he wrote another letter to Cromwell, which was delivered to him at Hampton Court in the 6th month.

To the Protector.

"Friend,

"Know that there is a God that doth whatsoever he will. All power is in his hand, and he bringeth to pass the counsel of his own heart, and he rules in the kingdoms of men, and bringeth down and setteth up; he killeth and maketh alive; and he changeth times, and seasons, and governments, and bringeth to nought the counsels of men; for all power in earth and in heaven is in him, and all his doings are right, and his ways are equal: and thou and all mankind are as clay in the hand of the Potter, he *can honour* and exalt as he pleaseth,

and he can mar, and break to pieces, and dishonour whensoever he will; wherefore be humble and low in heart before him, for he is the highest power that subdueth all things under his feet. If he wound, who can heal? And if he kill, there is none can make alive; and know thou, it is the Lord God Almighty that doth this, in whose hands are the issues of life and death; and he it is who can break thee down, and build thee up; who can wound thee, and restore thee; and bring thee to destruction, and say unto thee return; and to know him that doth this, belongs to thy eternal peace, &c.

"Be thou faithful in what the Lord calleth thee to, and thou shalt have thy reward; and seek his honour, and he will honour thee; and let thy mind be to the Lord in all things, and feel his word, and power, and presence in thee, to quench all that which is contrary, and then thou wilt be blessed in this life, and in the life to come; but if thou continuest in thy oppression, the Lord will suddenly smite thee.

"By a friend unto thee in the Lord,
"E. B."

That the Lord, according to this prediction, did suddenly smite Cromwell, time verified; for he lived but about a month after the receipt of the said letter. And that E. Burrough *tenderly loved him*, appears to me from several

circumstances: and the ardent desire he had for his eternal welfare, occasioned this plain language to him.

G. Fox also wrote to him, that it was not improbable, that because of his wickedness, the Lord might raise the royalists against him, to be instruments of executing his wrath; as once Cromwell himself had been an instrument to their overthrow. And a very short time before his death, G. Fox went to Hampton court, to speak with him about the sufferings of his friends. With this intention he met him riding into Hampton court park, and before he came to him, (according to his relation) he perceived a waft of death go forth against him; and coming to him, he looked like a dead man. So after G. Fox had laid the sufferings of his friends before him, and had warned him, Oliver bid him come to his house: whereupon G. Fox went to Kingston, and the next day came to Hampton court again; but there he understood that the protector was sick; and Dr. Harvey told him, that the doctors were not willing that he should speak with the protector. So he passed away, and never saw Oliver Cromwell any more: who, since the death of his daughter, the lady Claypole, had been distempered, and troubled with a maligant humour in his foot; which when *his physicians* endeavoured to *dieperse, they drove* upward (as was said) to

his heart; and being seized with a violent fever, he grew weaker and weaker; yet his preachers endeavoured to conceal the danger he was in: and it is reported that Dr. Goodwin, one of his chaplains, in prayer during the time of his sickness, made use of this expression, "Lord, we beg not for his recovery, for that thou hast already granted; and assured us of; but for his speedy recovery." Whilst the protector was sick, E. Burrough wrote the following letter to his wife and children, &c.

"Friends,

"Remember, that by the Lord you were raised from a low state, and when he will he can abase you, and bring you down; he gave you the palace of princes, and threw out them before you.

"O! remember this every one of you, and come to the witness of God in you, and be humble, and meek, and lowly, and let the Lord's fear be in your hearts, and be of a tender spirit, having your minds exercised in purity, in holiness, and in righteousness; and exalt not yourselves, nor be lifted up in your hearts, in the pride and vain glories, and honours of this world, lest the Lord cast you down, and make your name and posterity a reproach, as he hath done many before you; and if you walk in the *same steps, and do* the same things, and become

guilty of the same abominations, and suffer the children and servants of the Lord to be persecuted (as many are at this day, some unto death) shall the Lord spare you? Nay, he will cause you to feel his hand of judgment, and bring you down with sorrow, and he will vex you in his wrath, and smite you with his rod more and more, till you learn his fear, and depart from all your iniquities; and the Lord will deface your glory, and pull down your crown; and he will make you know, that he is Lord, that doeth whatsoever he will.

"Wherefore humble yourselves under the hand of God, and search your own hearts, and cast out the abominations that vex the spirit of the Lord; and suffer not the people of the Lord's precious flock to be devoured, and made a prey to the wicked; for because of this, the rod of affliction cometh upon you, and may suddenly break you to pieces: but mind the seed of God in you, which is oppressed, and which will redeem you out of sin and death, and reconcile you to God, and bring you into fellowship with himself, to enjoy peace and rest for your souls, that you may be made heirs of the inheritance of an endless life: and this would make you truly honourable, and will be more satisfaction to you, and joy, and content, and true rejoicing than *all worldly* crowns and worldly *glories: which will* waste and consume away,

and leave you miserable: and remember you are now warned from the Lord God, by whom I am moved to write this unto you, in dear and tender love to you all; and one day you shall witness it.

"And as concerning the Quakers, so called, who are accounted vile in the sight of men, and are cast out of all power and place in the nation, being despised of all, and also are reproached, persecuted, and imprisoned, and all manner of evil and injustice unrighteously done and spoken against them by wicked and corrupt men in authority; yet are they the children and servants of the living God, and greatly beloved of him, and are as dear to him as the apple of his eye, and his power and presence is with them: and the time is at hand, that the Lord will make their persecutors fall, and their enemies bow and tremble, though they now suffer unjustly, and are trodden down as not deserving a place in the earth: yet it is for righteousness sake, and because they shew forth the image of the Father, and not for evil doing: and will not their sufferings lie upon you? For many hundreds have suffered cruel and great things, and the loss of life (though not by, yet in the name of the protector;) and about an hundred at this present day lie in holes, and dungeons, and prisons, up and down the nation; and some at this time are *sick, nigh unto* death, whose sufferings cry for

vengeance, and the Lord heareth the cry: wherefore save youselves and let the righteous be delivered, and the cruel bonds of oppression broken, and the exercise of a pure conscience go free, without persecution; and then the Lord will turn away his anger, and cease to smite you with his rod, which hath been upon you; and he will give you peace, and make you blessed, if you come to be led by his Spirit into all truth.

"And though these innocent lambs of Christ suffer thus under this present power, yet are they not enemies to you, but are friends to your persons and families, and pity you, and love you, and desire well for you in the Lord; that you may repent and be healed, and that your hearts may receive refreshments to your souls; and that you may be established in righteousness and truth over all your enemies, and may not be confounded, nor your posterity brought into reproach, which is hastening upon you: and though our love be despised, and we accounted hateful in your sight, and looked upon with derision, yet we bear all things in patience, truly desiring your returning and repentance, and not your destruction: but if these doleful sufferings of the Lord's poor lambs be continued by this present power, it will destroy you, and undo you, and break *you*, and confound you; and the *Lord will not cease* to smite you with

his rod of sharp rebukes; and he will make you know, his people's cause shall not be unpunished. Oh, did you but know how many have suffered and do suffer! how the bodies of some have been tortured by stocks and cruel whippings! And how some lie sick in stinking holes and dungeons, on the ground, or on a little straw at best; ten, or often more, in a prison together and sometimes their own friends not suffered to come to visit them with necessaries! Oh, did but your eyes behold, or your hearts perceive the greatness of the cruelty, which some of the Lord's dear servants, and your faithful friends, undergo, it would make your hearts ache, and your spirits to tremble! And all this is done in the name, and under the authority of protector; therefore how should the Lord but lay it to your charge, and afflict him and his family? He will make you know there is a God that can do whatsoever he will, and that life and death are in his hands, and all creatures are in his hands as clay in the hands of the potter; and he rules in the kingdoms of men, and putteth down one, and setteth up another, according to his pleasure: but if the love of God be withholden from you, it is because of disobedience to him, and your transgression. Wherefore be obedient to him, and love his ways and judgments, that he may make you more happy with

own immortal, that never fades away. And
ember once more the Lord hath warned you
a friend unto you from the Lord,

"E. Burrough."

ritten the first day of September, 1658.

romwell was snatched away by death una-
es: however the day before his decease this
er was delivered to his relations. It was
till the last period of his life that he named
son Richard to be his successor. And when
th stared in his face, remorse did not stay
ind: for according to what Ludlow relates,
seemed above all concerned for the reproach-
he said) men would cast upon his name, in
npling on his ashes when dead. In this
per of mind he departed this life about two
he afternoon, on the third of September, at
age of about fifty-five years. The news of
death being brought to those who were met
ether to pray for him, one Sterry stood up,
l said, "This is good news: because if he
s of great use to the people of God when he
s amongst us, now he will be much more so,
ng ascended to heaven; there to intercede
us." O horrid flattery! Thus I call it, if he
l been the greatest saint on earth; which he
ie much short of, though he was once endued
h some eminent virtues. His dying day was
arkable *for a most* grievous tempest, not

only in England, but also in the Low Countries, where trees were torn out of the ground by the violence of the wind, and many ships foundered. "He was," saith Edward, Earl of Clarendon, "one of those persons whom even his enemies could not vilify without praising him." And I have heard impartial men say, that in the beginning of his achievements, he was indeed an excellent man; but being come to a high station, he soon lost that zeal for the public welfare, by which at first he seemed to be animated.

The body of the deceased was laid in Somerset house, in an apartment lighted only with wax tapers, the corpse being richly adorned.

After his death, Richard, eldest son to Oliver, was proclaimed protector of the commonwealth: to whom E. Burrough wrote a letter, superscribed to Richard Cromwell, chosen to be protector and chief magistrate, &c. wherein he gave him some account of the most cruel sufferings of his friends; and speaking of the rulers, he saith thus:

"As for magistracy, it was ordained of God to be a dread, and terror and limit to evil doers, and to be a defence and praise to all that do well: to condemn the guilty, and to justify the guiltless; but the exercise thereof at this day in these nations is degenerated, and some that *are in authority* are greatly corrupted, and

regard not the just and pure law of God, to judge only thereby; but oppress the poor by injustice, and subvert the true laws of God and men to a wrong end and use, abusing authority, and turning the sword against the just, whereby true judgment is turned backward, and the innocent made unjustly to suffer for righteousness sake, through the corruption of men in authority; and didst thou but know what we know in this particular, it would pierce thy heart: why? It is frequent among some of the judges and magistrates, to commit a man to prison, and impose some great fine upon him, and to cast him into a dungeon, or hole, among thieves and murderers, for a long season; for no other offence, or breach of any law, but because he cannot put off his hat to them, and respect their persons, by the hat or bowing his knee: and many others that fear God, and for conscience sake cannot swear upon a book, by kissing it, and laying hands upon it because Christ saith, "Swear not at all;" though they deny not to speak and do the truth in all things, as in the presence of God and all men: and many others, that because they are moved to cry against sin, and declare against the iniquities of the times in teachers, rulers, and people, that highly abound; perhaps in a market or steeple-*house*, or highway, or other places, *as they are moved* of God: and many

others, because for conscience sake they cannot pay tithes, nor give money and wages to maintain a priest, or false teacher, that they receive no profit by; or to maintain a steeple-house, where the world worships in vain traditions, and not in the spirit and power of God; and many have been taken out of peaceable meetings, where they were waiting upon the Lord; and some out of their inns and friends houses; and many have been taken on the way, travelling about their lawful occasions; and some from their callings and labours; and for these causes, through the envy of wicked men, and without any just conviction of the breach of any law, or any lawful trial or examination, have hundreds of just men, being wholly innocent, been sent to prison, and lain many months, and some for years; or whipped, or put in the stocks, and grievously abused by cruel executioners of wicked men's envy and injustice; and for such causes mentioned, and without the transgression of any just law, have and do at this day many hundreds of faithful subjects suffer hard and cruel things, long and sore imprisonment, and cruel and sharp whipping and stocking, and unjust banishment out of towns and cities; yea, friend, it is hard to be expressed, and large to be declared, how many of the Lord's servants do, and have suffered *great injustice in* these nations, through the

abuse of good government, and degeneration of magistracy from its perfect state and place, whereunto it was ordained of God in the beginning," &c.

This remonstrance, how powerful and large soever, had not its due effect; but persecution continued, without being stopped by him: for the churchmen fawned upon him, calling him not only their Joshua, but the preachers of Suffolk said in their address to him, "Though our sun is gone down, yet no night ensued." *Sol occubuit, nox nulla secuta est.*

About this time was given forth a paper, called, The Church Faith; and G. Fox having got a copy of it before it was published, wrote an answer to it; and when the book of the church faith appeared, his answer was also in print. This so incensed some of the parliament men, that one of them told G. Fox, they must have him to Smithfield. To which he answered, that he was over their fires, and feared them not: and farther asked, whether all people had been without a faith these sixteen hundred years, that now the priests must make them one? And since Christ Jesus was the author of the apostles' faith, of the church's faith in the primitive times, and of the martyrs' faith; should not all people look unto him to be the author and finisher *of their faith*, and not unto the priests.

Nothing material was answered to this; but the priests called G. Fox's friends, house creepers, because they met together in houses, and would not maintain the priests temples. One major Wiggan that was present when G. Fox discoursed with the parliament men, said, Christ had taken away the guilt of sin, but had left the power of sin still remaining in us. G. Fox told him, that this was strange doctrine; for Christ came to destroy the devil and his works, and the power of sin, and so to cleanse men from sin.

Now there was great persecution, both by imprisonment, and breaking up of meetings; and many died in prisons: for the priests speaking evil of the Quakers, it did kindle the insolence of the rabble not a little, so that they did not stick to throw squibs into the meeting, to cast rotten eggs on those that were met, to beat on drums and kettles, and so to make a hideous noise, and to abuse people most grievously with blows and violent pushes.

One day there being a meeting appointed near London, they beat and abused about eighty persons that came out of the city to meet there, tearing their coats and cloaks from off their backs and throwing them into ditches and ponds. The next first day of the week after this, G. Fox, though at that time very weak, *went thither,* and preaching with the bible in

his hand, he shewed the rude people their, and their teachers fruits, and how disagreeable these mad actions were to the doctrine contained in the Holy Scriptures. Many of his imprisoned friends were now brought up to London to be tried by the committee; where sir Henry Vane, being chairman, would not suffer them to come in, except they would put off their hats. But since many of them had been imprisoned upon contempts, (as the not putting off hats before magistrates was called,) others signified, that it must not be expected that now they should comply; and so through the mediation of some that persuaded Vane, they were at length admitted; where they so well defended their cause, that several were set at liberty.

Sufferings now growing very sharp, G Fox, to encourage his friends, wrote the following lines to them.

"My dear friends, every where scattered abroad, in prison, or out of prison, fear not, because of the reports of sufferings; let not the evil spies of the good land make you afraid, if they tell you, the walls are high, and that there be Anakims in the land; for at the blowing of the ram's horns did the walls of Jericho fall down; and they that brought the evil report, perished in the wilderness. But dwell ye in the faith, *patience*, and hope, having the word

of life to keep you, which is beyond the law; and having the oath of God, his covenant, Christ Jesus, which divides the waters asunder; and makes them to run all on heaps; in that stand, and ye will see all things work together for good, to them that love God; and in that triumph when sufferings come, whatever they be: your faith, your shield, your helmet, your armour you have on; ye are ready to skip over a mountain, or a wall, or a hill, and to walk through the deep waters, though they be heaps upon heaps: for the evil spies of the good land may preach up hardness, but Caleb, which signifies an heart, and Joshua, a saviour, triumph over all.

"G. F."

There was at that time great discord among those that were at the helm of government; and G. Fox relates, that he did then foresee the king's coming in again; and that therefore when some forward spirits, who frequented the meetings of his friends, would have bought Somerset house to keep meetings in, he dissuaded them from it. There came also a woman to him, who having (as she said) had a revelation concerning the restoring of king Charles, three years before he came in, said, she must go to him to declare it: but G. Fox advised her to *keep this revelation* to herself, since if she

went on such a message, it would have been counted treason.

How the corpse of Oliver Cromwell was laid in Somerset house to be seen, hath been said already; but afterwards an image of him lying there in state, was accompanied with trumpeters, who sounded over the said image. This vanity so grieved G. Fox, that he wrote the following lines to the authors thereof:

"Oh friends, what are ye doing! And what mean ye to sound before an image! Will not all sober people think ye are like mad people? Oh, how I am grieved with your abominations! Oh, how I am wearied! My soul is wearied with you, saith the Lord, will I not be avenged of you, think ye, for your abominations? Oh, how have ye plucked down, and set up! Oh, how are your hearts made whole, and not rent! And how are ye turned to fooleries! Which things in times past ye stood over: therefore how have ye left my dread, saith the Lord! O, therefore fear, and repent, lest the snare and the pit take you all. The great day of the Lord is come upon all your abominations, and the swift hand of the Lord is turned against them all. The sober people in the nation stand amazed at your doings, and are ashamed, as if you would bring in popery.

"G. F."

Sometime after this the funeral of O. Cromwell was solemnized with very great pomp, not at all agreeable to that condition he once was in; for the time was when he would have abhorred such an idolatrous honour as was now paid to his image. On the day of this pompous funeral, which was the 23rd. of November, it happened that Edward Burrough came riding from Kingston into London, not knowing any thing of what was done there. As he entered at Charing-cross, he beheld a great multitude of people thronging exceedingly, the streets being filled as far as he could see, and abundance gazing at the windows, and upon the balconies, and house tops. There were also guards of horse and foot, that stopped his horse, and it was told him, that he might not pass that way. Yet he did not know what was the matter; but at length he perceived that Cromwell's image, richly adorned, was to be carried that way towards Westminster. The consideration of this, was like an arrow which pierced his breast: and because of this idolatry, he felt such a fire kindled in him, that he was, as it were, filled with the indignation of the Lord, whose fury ran through him, to cry, Plagues, plagues, and vengeance against the authors of this abomination. Nay, so ardent was his zeal, that if he had been moved to it, and it had been possible to have done it, he could, (not at all mind-

ing his own life) have ridden through the g
and multitude, to have sounded the judgı
of God against the idolaters. And consid
that all this sinful idolatry was about the fu
of Oliver Cromwell: "Alas, for him," said
rough with himself, "who was once a
instrument in the hand of the Lord, to l
down many idolatrous images! Did no
Lord once stir up his heart against all
things? And did not once his children, off
soldiers, and army, pull down all the ir
and crosses, and all such like popish stuff, w
ever they met with it? What grievous
abominable work is this? Have they now
a costly image of him? And are such as
once his soldiers now guarding it, and wat
over it, and his children and officers foll
it, and multitudes of the inhabitants of L
wondering and gazing after an image of
This is sad, and a great pity: what a cha
this in so short a time?"

This zealous testimony E. Burrough c
to be printed, whereby he raised to him
more lasting monument, than by the er
of a statue to his quondam frien
Cromwell. Now since the persecution
Burrough's friends (notwithstanding wh
had written to Richard Cromwell) di
cease, and all exhortations and warning
rejected, *E. Burrough* in the month of

ber wrote the following lines to Richard and his council.

"To the Protector, and his council.

"The Lord God will shortly make you know that we are his people; though we be accounted as sheep for the slaughter, yet our king of righteousness will break you to pieces, if you harden your hearts, and repent not. And though that love will not draw you, neither the gentle leadings of our God have any place in you, yet judgments shall awaken you, and his heavy hand of indignation shall lie upon your consciences, and you will be scattered and distracted to pieces.

"E. Burrough."

How soon this prediction was fulfilled, we shall see in the next year; for it was but a few months after the delivering of this letter, when Richard laid down the government.

In the mean-while we will take again a view of the persecution in New-England. There was, as hath been said already, a fine settled of five shillings a week to be paid for not coming to church, as it was called. And thus from time to time occasion was found to use cruelty against the inhabitants, though none of those called Quakers came from abroad. William Shattock a shoe-maker, at Boston, being on a



first day of the week, found in his house, instead of coming to the public worship, was haled to the house of correction; where, at his first entrance, he was cruelly whipped, and then kept to work, whilst his wife and innocent children were in want because of his absence. In the mean time the deputy governor, Richard Bellingham, did not stick to say to William's wife, that since he was poor, and could not pay five shillings a week for not coming to church, they would continue him in prison. Thus was verified that saying of Solomon, "Cruel are the mercies of the wicked." Bellingham also endeavoured to persuade this woman, that what her husband had done, was to be rid of her, and therefore advised her to disown him. Now these persecutors began to have abundance of business; and taking away of goods, and cruel whippings became almost daily work, which was performed without regard of age or sex; all which to relate would exceed my limits.

Two women, named Sarah Gibbons, and Dorothy Waugh, being come to Boston, and ıving in the public meeting-place, after the :ture was ended, spoken a few words, were ›ught to the house of correction, and three 's before their being whipped, and three days r, were kept from victuals, though they had ·ed to pay for them. And when Sarah *ward asked the* governor, John Endicot,

whether this was justice or equity: adding, that by this all might see that God was with them, that they were thus preserved without food; and if they perished, their blood would fall heavy on those that were the occasion thereof; he answered, that he mattered it not.

Not long after Hored Gardner, an inhabitant of Newport, in Rhode-Island, came with her sucking babe, and a girl to carry it, to Weymouth: from whence, for being a Quaker, she was hurried to Boston, where both she and the girl were whipped with a threefold knotted whip. After whipping, the woman kneeled down, and prayed the Lord to forgive those persecutors: which so reached a woman that stood by, that she said, surely she could not have done this, if it had not been by the spirit of the Lord.

But when should I have done, if I would describe all the whippings inflicted on the Quakers so called, in those parts! For now a law was made, which furnished continual work to the persecutors there. The contents thereof were, that whosoever of the inhabitants should directly or indirectly cause any of the Quakers to come into that jurisdiction, he should forfeit an hundred pounds to the country, and be committed to prison, there to remain till the penalty should be satisfied. And whosoever should entertain them, knowing

them to be so, should forfeit forty shillings to the country for every hour's entertainment or concealment; and be committed to prison till the forfeiture should be fully paid and satisfied. And farther, that all and every of those people that should arise among them there, should be dealt withal, and suffer the like punishment as the laws provided for those that came in, viz. That for the first offence, if a male, one of his ears should be cut off, and he kept at work in the house of correction, till he should be sent away on his own charge. For the second, his other ear, and he kept in the house of correction, as aforesaid. If a woman, then to be severely whipped, and kept as aforesaid, as the male for the first; and for the second offence to be dealt withal as the first. And for the third, he or she should have their tongues bored through with an hot iron, and be kept in the house of correction, close at work, till they be sent away on their own charge.

In the latter part of the fifth month, it came to pass, that William Brend and William Leddra, having been at Salem, came to Newbury, where at the house of one Robert Adams, they had a conference with the priest, in the presence of Captain Gerish, who had promised that they should not suffer; but after the conference was ended, the Captain would not let them go, but on *promise presently* to depart the town;

which being loth to comply with, as they were on their way, they were sent for back, and Capt. Gerish riding after them, commanded them to return; which they refusing, he compelled them thereunto, and sent them with a constable to Salem, where being brought before the magistrates, they were asked whether they were Quakers? To which they answered, that they were such that were in scorn called so. Next it was objected to them, that they maintained dangerous errors. They asking what these were, it was told them, that they not only denied that Christ at Jerusalem had suffered on the cross, but also that they denied the Holy Scriptures. They boldly contradicted this, and said, they owned no other Jesus but he that had suffered death at Jerusalem, and that they also owned the Scriptures.

Now although nothing could be objected against this, yet they were carried to the house of correction, as such who, according to the law made at Boston, might not come into those parts. Some days after they were carried to Boston, where in the next month they were brought into the house of correction, to work there. But they unwilling to submit thereto, the jailor, who sought his profit from the work of his prisoners, would not give them victuals, though they offered to pay for them. But he told them, it was not their money, but their

labour he desired. Thus he kept them five days without food, and then with a three-corded whip, gave them twenty blows. An hour after, he told them they might go out, if they would pay the marshal that was to lead them out of the country. They judging it very unreasonable to pay money for being banished, refused this, but yet said, that if the prison-door was set open, they would go away.

The next day the jailor came to W. Brend, a man in years, and put him in irons, neck and heels so close together, that there was no more room left between each, than for the lock that fastened them. Thus he kept him from five in the morning, till after nine at night, being the space of sixteen hours. The next morning he brought him to the mill to work, but Brend refusing, the jailor took a pitched rope about an inch thick and gave him twenty blows over his back and arms, with as much force as he could, so that the rope untwisted; and then, going away, he came again with another rope that was thicker and stronger, and told Brend, that he would cause him to bow to the law of the country and make him work. Brend judged this not only unreasonable in the highest degree, since he had committed no evil; but he was also altogether unable to work; for he wanted strength *for* want of food; having been *kept five days without* eating, and whipped also.

and now thus unmercifully beaten with a rope. But this inhuman jailor relented not, but began to beat anew with his pitched rope, on his bruised body, and, foaming at his mouth like a madman, with violence laid fourscore and seventeen blows more on him, as other prisoners that beheld with compassion, have told; and if his strength and his rope had not failed him, he would have laid on more; he threatened also to give him the next morning as many blows more. But a higher power, who sets limits even to the raging sea, and hath said, "Hitherto shalt thou come but no farther," also limited this butcherly fellow: who was yet impudently stout enough to say his morning prayer. To what a most terrible condition these blows brought the body of Brend, (who because of the great heat of the weather, had nothing but a serge cassock upon his shirt) may easily be conceived; his back and arms were bruised and black, and the blood hanging as in bags under his arms; and so into one was his flesh beaten, that the sign of a particular blow could not be seen: for all was become as a jelly. His body being thus cruelly tortured, he lay down upon the boards, so extremely weakened, that the natural parts decaying, and strength quite failing, his body turned cold; there seemed as it were a struggle between life and death; his senses were stopped and he had for some time, neither seeing, nor

hearing; till at length a divine power prevailing, life broke through death, and the breath of the Lord was breathed into his nostrils.

Now the noise of this cruelty spread among the people in the town, and caused such a cry, that the governor sent his surgeon to the prison to see what might be done; but the surgeon found the body of Brend in such a deplorable condition, that as one without hopes, he said, his flesh would rot from off his bones, ere the bruised parts could be brought to digest. This so exasperated the people, that the magistrates, to prevent a tumult, set up a paper on the meeting-house door, and up and down the streets, as it were to shew their dislike of this abominable, and most barbarous cruelty; and said, the jailor should be dealt with at the next court. But this paper was soon taken down again upon the instigation of the high priest, John Norton, who having from the beginning been a fierce promoter of the persecution, now did not stick say, "W. Brend endeavoured to beat our spel ordinances black and blue, if he then be iten black and blue, it is but just upon him; and I will appear on his behalf that so." It is therefore not much to be wond at, that these precise and bigotted magees, who would be looked upon to be nt for piety, were so cruel in persecuting.

since their chief teacher thus encouraged them to it.

In the meanwhile it pleased God, even miraculously to heal W. Brend, and to keep him alive; but as if the hearts of these persecutors were more hardened thereby, to shew themselves obedient followers of their teacher, they made an order, that the jailor, if the Quakers that were in his custody refused to work, should whip them twice a week, the first time with ten lashes, the next time with fifteen, and so at each time with three more till they would work. This they performed on four persons, two of which were William Leddra, and John Rous, who may be mentioned hereafter. And to keep the passionate jailor within due bounds, forsooth, it was ordered that each time he should warn two constables to see the execution. But how little moderation was truly meant, and that this moderation was more like a jest, may appear in that the jailor the first time laid fifteen lashes a piece on the said persons, and so added five stripes to the number of ten.

It happened about this time, that some of the people called Quakers that lived there, being had before the magistrates, it was demanded by one of them, how they might know a Quaker? To which Simon Broadstreet, one of the magistrates, answered, "Thou art one, *for coming in with* thy hat on." Which made

the other reply, it was a horrible thing to make such cruel laws, to whip and cut off ears, and bore through the tongue, for not putting off the hat. Then one of the bench said, that the Quakers held forth blasphemies at their meetings. To which one of the others desired him to make such a thing appear, if it were so; that they might be convinced: and farther, that they should do well to send some to their meetings, that they might hear, and give account of what was done and spoken there; and not conclude of a thing they knew not. "But" said major-general Denison, "If ye meet together, and say any thing, we may conclude that ye speak blasphemy." A very strange syllogism indeed. No better (to prove persecution lawful) was the argument of Charles Chansey, chief teacher at the University, who in a sermon at Boston, argued thus: "Suppose you should catch six wolves in a trap, and ye cannot prove that they killed either sheep or lambs; and now ye have them they will neither bark nor bite; yet they have the plain marks of wolves, and therefore ye knock them down." A base expression, thus to compare man to a beast; for God said in plain terms to Noah, "Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed." But these persecutors thought there *was stress* enough in it, to call *the Quakers wolves*; and to make one pass for

a Quaker, they counted it a sufficent proof, when they saw he did not put off his hat to men: "Knock him down, it is a wolf."

And if the hat was not found fault with, something else was thought on; for at Salem twelve persons were fined forty pounds nineteen shillings, for not coming to church: and of others much money was extorted, because their wives absented themselves from the public worship. William Marston of Hampton, was fined ten pounds for two books found in his house, viz. John Lilburn's Resurrection and W. Dewsbury's Mighty day of the Lord. Thus these people did whatever they would, without any regard to the laws in Old England: and when once some prisoners appealed to them, the governor, John Endicot, and his deputy Bellingham cried, "No appeal to England! No appeal to England." And they seemed to fear nothing for what they did to the Quakers; according to what major-general Denison said in open court: "This year you will go and complain to the parliament; the next year they will send some to see how things go; and in the third year the government will be changed. Now they not at all caring for Old England denied also the prisoners their request of being tried according to the laws of that realm, by jury. And the rulers dealing thus arbitrarily *the jailor of the* house of correction did

like; for when some of his prisoners shewed themselves not unwilling to work, provided that their families should have something of the gain, he would not allow that, unless they paid him eight-pence for every twelve-pence gain: and when they refused this, the whipping post was his refuge.

But to go on: in the foregoing year mention was made of John Copeland and Christopher Holder: these coming in the sixth month to Dedham, lodged there one night; but the next day were taken up by a constable, and carried to Boston, where being brought before the governor, he said in a rage, "Ye shall be sure to have your ears cut off." Not long after, John Rous came again to Boston, but was shortly after taken, and committed to prison. On the seventeenth of September, he, with Holder and Copeland, were brought before the magistrates in the court, where the deputy governor told them, that they, in contempt of the magistrates and ministers being come there again to seduce the people, might know that whatever befel them, whether the loss of their ears, or of their lives, their blood would be upon their own heads. They denying this, and saying, that the Lord had sent them thither, the governor Endicot said, "You are greater enemies to us, than those that come openly; since *under pretence of* peace, you come to

poison the people." Being asked for proof that the Lord had sent them, they replied, that it was some kind of proof the Lord had sent them, for his name's sake, viz. whipping, &c. To this major-general Denison said, "Then when malefactors are whipped, they suffer for Christ's sake." Then John Rous, whose father was a lieutenant-colonel in Barbadoes, said, "If we were evil doers, the judgments of God would be heavier upon us than which we suffer by you. To which major Denison replied, "Mr. Rous, (for so I may call you, having heard your father is a gentleman,) what judgment of God do you look for greater than is upon you, to be driven from your father's house, and to run about here as a vagabond, with a company of deceivers, except you look for a halter?" To this Rous said, "I was not driven from my father's house, but in obedience to the Lord I left it; and when the Lord shall have cleared me of this land, I shall return to it again." Then Endicot called to the secretary to read the law, who thereupon read this clause in it, that if any that had suffered the law, should presume to return again, they should have one of their ears cut off. Some more words were spoken, and among the rest, Endicot said, "The Quakers have nothing to prove their commission by, but the spirit within them, *and that is the* devil." And when one of the

prisoners said, "We have seen some of your laws, that have many Scriptures in the margin; but what example have you in Scripture for cutting off ears?" Endicot asked, "What Scripture is there for hanging?" To which Denison said scoffing, "Yes, they would be crucified." Then Endicot called the three prisoners by name, and said in great passion, "It is the sentence of the court, that you three have each of you his right ear cut off by the hangman." Then they were carried to the prison, and on the sixteenth of September, the Marshal's deputy came thither, letting as many come in as he thoughtmeet; and when the doors were made fast, the said marshal read the following order.

"To the marshal general, or to his deputy: you are to take with you the executioner, and repair to the house of correction, and there see him cut off the right ears of John Copeland, Christopher Holder, and John Rous, Quakers; in execution of the sentence of the court of assistants, for the breach of the law, intitled Quakers.

"Edward Rawson, Secretary."

Then the prisoners were brought into another room, where John Rous said to the marshal,

"We have appealed to the chief magistrate of England." To which he answered, he had nothing to do with that. Holder said, "Such execution as this should be done publicly, and not in private; for this was contrary to the law of England." But Captain Oliver replied, "We do it in private to keep you from tattling." Then the executioner took Holder, and when he had turned aside his hair, and was going to cut off his ear, the marshal turned his back on him, which made Rous say, "Turn about and see it;" for so was his order. The marshal then, though filled with fear, turned, and said, "Yes, yes, let us look on it." Rous, who was more undaunted than his persecutor, suffered the like, as well as the third, and they said, "Those that do it ignorantly, we desire from our hearts the Lord to forgive them; but for them that do it maliciously, let our blood be upon their heads; and such shall know in the day of account, that every drop of our blood shall be as heavy upon them as a millstone." Afterwards these persons were whipped again; but this practice becoming so common in New England as if it was but play, I will not detain my reader with it.

Persecution being now come to the cutting off of ears, did not stop there, but went higher, and rested not, before it came to the taking away of lives. But to compass that proved

very difficult; for there were many honest people who abhorred such a cruelty. Yet John Norton, and the other priests, petitioned the magistrates, to cause the court to make some law to banish the Quakers, upon pain of death. This gave encouragement to the magistrates, for since the churchmen pushed on so wicked a business, no scruple was made to go on with this bloody work: and the court of magistrates voted it to be put in execution by a country court, which three magistrates made up, the majority of which might hang at pleasure, without trial by a jury; a thing not heard of in Old England: but it served the purpose of Norton, and his fellow preachers. The court where this law was made, consisted of twenty-five persons; and when it was put to the vote, it was carried in the affirmative, the speaker and eleven being on the negative, but thirteen on the affirmative, so that one vote carried it. This so troubled one Wozel, when he heard it, having through illness been absent, that he got to the court, and weeping for grief, that his absence should occasion such a law to pass, said, if he had not been able to go, he would have crept upon his knees, rather than it should have passed. But what he said proved in vain; they had now passed the Rubicon, and what was eagerly desired, *was* obtained. Yet there was a *great difference in* the court, and the twelve

that had voted in the negative, resolved to enter their dissents to that law; which the others seeing, and that so many difficulties would weaken their law, they admitted this addition, to be tried by a special jury; though a standing law of the country contained, that none be sentenced to death and banishment, but by a special jury, and a court of assistants; and such a court consisted of seven magistrates at the least. But it was now resolved, to prosecute the Quakers to death; and all this trial, when it came to it, was, but whether they were Quakers? Which they judged by their coming in covered; and that they had been banished out of the country. Now to enter upon this bloody business, the following act was made at a general court, held at Boston, the 20th of October, in this year 1658.

An Act made at a general court held at Boston, the 20th of October, 1658.

"Whereas there is a pernicious sect (commonly called Quakers) lately risen, who by word and writing have published and maintained many dangerous and horrid tenets, and do take upon them to change and alter the received laudable customs of our nation, in giving civil respect to equals, or reverence to superiors, *whose actions* tend to undermind the civil gov-

ernment, and also to destroy the order of the churches, by denying all established forms of worship, and by withdrawing from orderly church fellowship, allowed and approved by all orthodox professors of the truth, and instead thereof, and in opposition thereunto, frequently meeting themselves, insinuating themselves into the minds of the simple, or such as are least affected to the order and government of church and commonwealth, whereby divers of our inhabitants have been infected, notwithstanding all former laws, made upon the experience of their arrogant and bold obtrusions, to disseminate their principles among us, prohibiting their coming in this jurisdiction, they have not been deterred from their impetuous attempts to undermine our peace and hazard our ruin.

"For prevention thereof, this court doth order and enact, that every person, or persons, of the cursed sect of the Quakers, who is not an inhabitant of, but is found within this jurisdiction, shall be apprehended without warrant, where no magistrate is at hand, by any constable, commissioner, or select man, and conveyed from constable to constable, to the next magistrate, who shall commit the said person to close prison, there to remain (without bail) unto the next court of assistants, where they shall have a legal trial: and *being* convicted to be of the *sect of the Quakers,* shall be sentenced to be

banished upon pain of death: and that every inhabitant of this jurisdiction, being convicted to be of the aforesaid sect, either by taking up, publishing, or defending the horrid opinions of the Quakers, or the stirring up mutiny, sedition, or rebellion against the government, or by taking up their absurd and destructive practices, viz. denying civil respect to equals and superiors, and withdrawing from our church assemblies, and instead thereof frequent meetings of their own, in opposition to our church order; or by adhering to, or approving of any known Quaker, and the tenets and practices of the Quakers, that are opposite to the orthodox received opinions of the godly, and endeavouring to disaffect others to civil government, and church orders; or condemning the practice and proceedings of this court against the Quakers, manifesting thereby their complying with those, whose design is to overthrow the order established in church and state, every such person, upon conviction before the said court of assistants, in manner as aforesaid, shall be committed to close prison for one month, and then unless they choose voluntarily to depart this jurisdiction, shall give bond for their good *behaviour,* and appear at the next court, where *continuing obstinate,* and refusing to retract and *reform the aforesaid* opinions, they shall be *sentenced to* banishment upon pain of death;

and any one magistrate, upon information given him of any such person, shall cause him to be apprehended, and shall commit any such person to prison, according to his discretion, until he come to trial, as aforesaid."

Here endeth this sanguinary act, being more like to the decrees of the Spanish Inquisition, than to the laws of a reformed Christian magistracy, consisting of such, who themselves to shun persecution (which was but a small fine for not frequenting the public worship) had left Old England. This act was answered by Francis Howgil, and the said answer published in print, wherein was plainly shewn, that it spoke the language of the ancient persecuting Jews and Heathen. In the sequel we shall see the bloody execution of it upon some persons.

In the fore part of the year 1659 there was great discord, and several factions among the people of England; some of whom adhered to the protector Richard, and others to the chief members of the long parliament; and the royalists made also a party. G. Fox being under a concern lest some raw or young people who sometimes came amongst his friends, might be drawn into some of those several interests, wrote an epistle, warning such to be careful, and not at all to meddle with any plotting, but to consider that *their warfare* was a spiritual one, and

not at all wanting the use of carnal weapons.

About this time William Caton came again into Holland, and finding at Amsterdam some malicious people, who endeavoured to bring his fellow believers there into trouble and to stir up the mob against them, that so the magistrates might take occasion to look upon the Quakers as rioters, advised those of that persuasion to be circumspect, and to avoid as much as they possibly could the impending storm. In order thereto it was thought meet that their religious meetings, which on the week days were kept pretty late at night, on the first days of the week should not always be kept in one place, but sometimes in this, and at other times in another house: sometimes they were kept in an alley, at the town wall near the Regulars gate, where several English people dwelt, from whence it was called the English Alley, and has that name still; hither came very rude company, committing great insolence. The time before that W. Caton was in Holland, he met with an extraordinary rude encounter at the said place, insomuch that he seemed in danger of his life: for some wicked people not daring to do their utmost in the house where he was pushed him out of doors; but then a woman pulled him into her house, where he was safe, though at first he knew not whether he was amongst friends or foes. I yet well remember this fact, being at that time with

in the said disturbed meeting. Now
; a discrete and judicious person, and
that some of his friends there had
ash zeal than true wisdom, advised
moderate of them often to change
ces. In the beginning a meeting
w and then in St John's street, so
afterwards on Eland's Graff, in an
house of one Richard Langham,
the Angelier's Graff in the house of
and some time after in the English
said, and also without the town, near
mstel, in Kuypers Padt, or Cooper's
a whence the meeting was removed
part of this year (if my memory does
me) into the Verwers Padt, or Dyer's
h was then without the city freedom,
eting-place was in a large garret of
ouse, where oftentimes came abun-
ople, and among these not a few of
bble. Here the meeting was contin-
year 1663, when that place came in-
ession of another owner.
, after some stay in Holland, return-
England. I think it was in this
William Ames went into Germany,
g come into the Palatinate, he went
urgh, and came to the court of the
tor, *Charles* Lodowick, who treated
even at his own table, who seemed

not to take offence at Ames's hat which he kept on, though the lords and others that were in the company, stood bareheaded. The baron of Helmont, who was also at that court, was wont to tell afterwards, that Ames walking once with his hat on next to the prince in his garden, the courtiers asked the prince whether they should question Ames for this incivility: but the prince said, "No, for I did expect that." At another time the prince made his chaplain and Ames dine with him, on purpose, as it seems, that Ames, whom he knew to be a bold man, might find occasion to reprove his chaplain: for at meat he suffered his jester to come, who playing his tricks, the chaplain was silent; but Ames who loved gravity, and was averse to jesting, took occasion from thence to reprove such vain actions; but chiefly he aimed at the chaplain, whom, because of his silence at the lewd behaviour of the jester, he called a dumb dog; which seemed to please the prince.

Now whilst William Ames was in the Palatinate, he became acquainted with the Baptists at Criesheim, a town not far from Worms; and amongst these people he found such entrance, that some families receiving the doctrine he preached, bore a public testimony for it there, and so continued till the settlement of Pennsylvania in America, when they unanimously went *thither, not as it* seemed without a singular

direction of Providence: for not long after, a war ensued in Germany, where the Palatinate was altogether laid waste by the French, and thousands of people were bereft of their possessions, and reduced to poverty.

But to return to Ames, when some in the Palatinate began to give ear to his preaching, a fine was settled upon those that gave him entertainment: but the prince Elector being informed hereof, took off that fine; and though those of the consistory did send for Ames, the prince generously ordered them not to meddle with him. The prince's sister also behaved herself very kindly towards him, and received his exhortations favourably.

A year after Ames came again into the Palatinate, with John Higgins, and visiting the prince Elector, he understood from the captain of the prince's guard that the prince was glad of Ames's return thither. A while after Higgins delivered to the prince Elector a book of G. Fox's, with a letter of Ames to the said prince, who was so well pleased with it that he bade Higgins to thank Ames on his behalf, saying also that he took the coming of Ames and Higgins to him and his family very kindly, and really believed that what they spoke was in love to their souls.

Several years after this, some others of Ames's *friends from England* visited the aforesaid

prince Elector, and he always (to his praise i it said) received them kindly. W. Ames, wl was at sundry times in Germany, came not onl to Hamburgh, but travelled also through Bohe mia to Dantzick, and from thence to Poland At Hamburgh and Dantzick he met with som that received the truth he preached: but in Poland people were too rude and haughty to get entrance among them.

In the fore part of this year W. Ames being at Rotterdam in Holland, was confined there in Bedlam; which having made a great noise, I will give a brief relation of it here. At Moordrecht, a village near Gouda, lived at that time one Martin Martinson, a cooper by trade; this man approving the doctrine preached by Ames at Rotterdam and elsewhere began to assert it as truth: and seeing now and then he with some of his sober neighbours kept a meeting at his house, this caused a great stir in the town, insomuch that sometimes he suffered rude treatment from the people. Ames coming once there, and keeping a meeting in Martin's house, great insolence was committed by the wicked rabble. And going from thence to pass over the water to Gouwerek, he was followed by a multitude of riotous people, both young and old, with a hideous cry of Quake, Quake, Quake! And was pelted with clods and stones, till he came to the boat that carried him over. The preacher

of Gouwerek hearing the noise, came to the boat, and asked what the matter was, why people made such a sad noise? To which Ames answered, "It seems the people are not taught better." To which the preacher answered, "They are not used to make such ado against honest people; but I believe you to be a deceiving wolf, that comes among the sheep to seduce them, and that therefore they cry so." Prove this, "replied Ames "I do not know you," said the preacher. "Learn then," returned Ames, better manners, than to call one thou knowest not, a wolf and a deceiver." And so going away, shortly after he wrote from Rotterdam to Martin, and bade him go to the preacher, and desire him to appoint a time to prove that Ames was a deceiving wolf. But to this the teacher shewed himself backward: yet to be rid of Martin, he said at length, "Come, I will prove it presently." But Martin replied, "I am not come for that; but this must be done to Ames;" and insisting thereon, "Well," said the preacher, "Let him come next Sunday before noon after sermon; then I will prove it publicly before all people."

Of this Martin sent word to Ames; but things were managed so, that this project of proof was quashed: for the preacher of Gouwerek went to his colleague at Moordrecht, and consulted with *him what* to do in the case; and

Ames being come to Moordrecht on the fir
day of the month called March, and the last
the week, though it was late at night, was see
and known by some, who committed much vi
lence upon the house of Martin, where Am
was entered. The next day it was reporte
that some of the sheriffs men of Gouda wer
come to Gouwerek to apprehend Ames whe
he came there; and at Moordrecht the Dik
grave's men came for the same purpose; and
they took Ames prisoner, and carried him
Rotterdam, where he was locked up in Bedla
as a madman. And a week after Martin, f
having kept meetings at his house, where n
above eight persons were come together, w
also by the Dikegrave's men taken prisoner
his house, and carried to Rotterdam, where h
was locked up with Ames. Who were the i
stigators of this business is plain enough, thou
I do not mention them.

After Ames had been not much above thr
weeks in Bedlam, the deputy governor of t
house, on the 27th of the month about nig
came to him and Martin, and said, "If I was
your place, I would go out." Which ma
Ames ask, whether he would suffer them to
so? To which he answered, that he should n
hinder them. Then Ames returned, "I w
not be reputed as one that broke prison." T
which the deputy replied, "Nay, why shou

you be reputed so? You may go out freely; all is unlocked: and the door will stand open for you: for the governors are not minded that you should stay here." Then Ames said, "Well, I intend to go out tomorrow." The next day Martin's wife came to see her husband; but the deputy told her, that he had an order in writing from the dikegrave, that rather than to let Martin's wife come to him, he might let him and Ames go out together. The issue was, that they were both let out that morning, it being the 28th of the month. But they staid at Rotterdam, intending not to depart the town before they had given notice to the dikegrave of their being let out; lest occasion might be given for saying that they had broken prison. And it was not without reason they were so cautious: for the next day in the morning the deputy came to them, and said, "I desire that you will not bring me into trouble, for I am an ancient man; and the dikegrave hath been with me, and asked for you: to which I answered, that you were gone out; but he took this very ill. I desire therefore that you would say that you were gone out without my knowledge." But this was not to be expected from Ames, whom I knew so well, that I truly believe he would rather have died, than to have spoken a lie: for in such a *case* he was without question of *the same mind as formerly* Christian Langue-

dul, uncle of my grandmother by the mother's side, who, when at Antwerp, he, with others, martyrs, was led to the stake to be burnt, cried out undauntedly, "If we would once but have told a lie, we might have escaped this." But to return to Ames, he told the deputy, that he himself intended to go and speak with the dikegrave; and if he was displeased at their going out, he might put them in again where they had been; for they would not have the name of prison breakers.

Then they both went to the dikegrave, and told him after what manner they were come out; saying also, that they would not have it said, that they broke out. "That name," said the dikegrave, "you would have had, if you had departed the town; for the deputy hath told me that you got out by breaking a window." After some other words were exchanged, he further said, "I have nothing to object against your life and conversation, having heard nothing concerning you, but a good report; neither do I seek to persecute you. But would you be willing to return to Bedlam?" Ames answered, "Here we stand before thee; thou mayest do with us according to thy pleasure. And if thou desirest us to return thither, we will do so:" The dikegrave signifying that this was his desire, said, that they might go and walk in the gallery then, till another order came. And so

he caused his messenger to go along with them. Being come thither, they not long retained the liberty to walk in the gallery, but on the 31st of the month they were locked up again, each in a hole by himself. Now Ames acquainted the deputy that he heard from the dikegrave, that he had been informed by him, that they were got out by breaking a window. But the deputy denied to have said so. They were detained there yet some time, and were pretty much visited, and this often by such as sought nothing but to scoff at them; and among these a certain clergyman did not stick to say to Ames, that he was a deceiver, because he wore pewter buttons, to make people believe they were silver ones. Whilst Ames was confined here, he wrote some papers which afterwards he published, and among these a reply to an answer of one Jacob Koelman, to eighty-three queries given forth by the said Ames; who now being set at liberty, travelled to Germany, as hath been said before, and from thence going back to his native country, after some time returned again into Holland, as did also William Caton.

But now I turn again to England, where an account was published in print of the sufferings of the people called Quakers, which being offered to the parliament, was delivered to the speaker Thomas Bampfield. This contained a relation of above one hundred and forty persons,

all distinguished by their names, who for keeping of meetings, refusing to swear, not putting off their hats, not paying of tithes, and their travelling up and down the country, had been taken up and imprisoned, and many also been deprived of their goods, and one and twenty of these died either by sickness in prison, or by violent abuses; among whom was Richard Sale, near West Chester, who being constable, had a minister of the people called Quakers brought to him, with a pass as a vagabond, whose conversation so convinced the constable, that he gave him his pass and liberty. And because the said Sale judged both priests and people to be exceedingly darkened, he entered upon an extraordinary act, to shew them by a sign that they wanted to be enlightened, viz. he came in the day time with a lantern and burning candle into the steeple-house during the sermon. But this was resented to such a high degree, that by order of the mayor he was put into prison, and thrust into a hole called Little Ease, which was so strait, that it could not well receive his body; but he was thrust in with such violence, that his body was bruised, and he spit blood, and shortly after grew sick; and his body swelling, occasioned by the squeezing it into the hole, he died in great pain. In the beforementioned account it was also said, that in the *last six years*, about two thousand persons, for

being Quakers, had suffered in their body and goods. To this was added a paper, signed by more than one hundred and sixty persons, (several of whom I knew) whereby they offered to the parliament to put themselves in the stead of their brethren, who were confined either in prisons, or houses of correction, or in dungeons, some being fettered, and others lying sick only on a little straw; wherefore they declared themselves ready to change places with them, out of true love, that so they might go out, and not die by hardship, as many had done already; to prevent which, they were willing to take upon themselves the sufferings of their brethren, and lay down their lives for them. Under their names they added, "If we had been of Esau's race, we should have fainted before this time; and if we had been of Cain's progeny, we should have fought with his weapons; but this never was, neither is it the way of the righteous and chosen, of which we are from the foundation of the world." It was in the month called April that this paper was delivered to the parliament, but I do not find that this offer was accepted, or any thing done for releasing the imprisoned.

About this time also Edward Burrough published a paper, containing a very remarkable prediction of what followed the next year; when king Charles the Second was placed on the throne. *In it he* saith, that as he was

travelling in Warwickshire, in the first month, his meditations being upon the Lord, and considering what unjust and woful sufferings had been inflicted upon the Lord's people within these few years, a cry went through him, "The Lord will be avenged, the Lord will be avenged upon his enemies, and he will avenge the cause of his people." This cry stuck close upon him, and his heart was even broken therewith, and his spirit melted before the Lord, it being as it were said to him, Write unto the rulers, and yet once more warn them of that recompense, and of that indignation, which is at hand upon them, even a just recompence for all their deeds; and as they have done, even so shall it be done to them; as they have sought to destroy the generation of the righteous, even so shall they be destroyed from off the face of the earth; and as they have unjustly judged and condemned the innocent, so shall they be condemned, and justly judged of the Lord; and as they have cast the bodies of the poor lambs of Christ into prison, and been a snare upon them, even so shall they be insnared, and into captivity shall they go. And as they have caused the goods and possessions of the innocent to be spoiled, and made a prey, even so in like manner shall the curse of the Lord spoil their substance. And as they have done, so shall it be done unto them; and as they have meted to others, so shall it be meted

n again. And I saw a great misery and
ion nigh at hand, even the sword of the
and that it should slay them; and I
it was made ready for the slaughter;
the sense of these things a sadness fell
ıy spirit, considering the desolation and
lgment that is at hand to be executed
he cruel oppressors.

ıerefore all ye rulers, and all ye that
odden down the heritage of God, and ye
ıve disregarded these many warnings that
e had; I say unto you all, in the power
Lord God, in his dominion, and by his
this is once more a warning to you from the
ınd that these things must surely come to
ınd be fulfilled in their season, and no
all be able to deliver his brother; but
man shall bear his own burthen, and
his own cup prepared for him: and
it hath been counted a light thing
ıt you, and you have despised the re-
and gone on without fear; yet inasmuch
Lord hath spared you, and not speedily
ed judgment upon you, but rather waited
ur return; yet the dealing of the Lord
s you, in sparing of you, you have not
ed; and therefore shall his judgments be
ater upon you. For if you do now come
witness in your own consciences, what

hath this people done? Whose ox have
y taken, or what have they desired of you?
what have they sought from you? Or where-
have they been a burthen to you? Saving
: they have reproved you for your iniquities,
desired your redemption? Would you but
· at last come to consider this, and confess
truth in your consciences; will not that tell
, that they have patiently suffered all things
you have cruelly imposed upon them?
l have not they walked peaceably towards
, and humbly, meekly, and justly among
r neighbours? And have they not been
k and innocent even as lambs, and as the
:p before the shearers? And have they
ught offences towards any? Have they
ght the overthrow of the government, or
: they sought vengeance against their ene-
;? Or what injury have they done to any
's person, or estate, saving to Satan and his
dom? Have they not sought to reform and
aim the ungodly from their ways? And
: they not pitied and prayed for their ene-
ı? And have they not in all things walked
good conscience towards the Lord, and
ırds all men? Yea, my friends, in the day
ıe Lord, when the witness in your consci-
s shall not be limited, but shall speak
ıly; and when the impartial Judge shall

appear upon his throne, then shall you acknowledge these things.

"Wherefore I say unto you, receive the judgment of the Lord to purify you, otherwise the judgment shall destroy you: and now come to be more wise, that some of you may be as a brand plucked out of the fire, and be reserved from being consumed; for the visitation of the Lord is near at an end, when his loving kindness will be shut from you, and his long suffering turned into fury; and he will make you know that we are his people, with whom you have thus dealt; yea, you shall suddenly know it; the time is not long till he will crown his people in the sight of his enemies; he will crown them with praise, and with righteousness, with honour and majesty, and he will keep them in safety, even when sorrow compasses you about; his mercy and loving kindness shall extend towards them, even when his wrath and judgments smite you, and confound you. O! What shall I say unto you; for the deep sense thereof remains upon my heart: when I consider, how that in all ages the Lord did avenge his people's cause, and when the time of their suffering was expired, he broke the bonds of iniquity, and set them free. Thus did he with his people Israel of old, and many times it was his way *with his* people, to bring them low *by suffering, and then* to raise them up again in

glory; and he suffered their enemies for a s
son to glory over them, that he might bri
them down. And thus he did in England,
the case between the Bishops and their crew
persecutors, and the poor people at that d
called Puritans: did not he confound that pers
cuting crew, and deliver his people? And is n
he the same to effect the same work at thi
very day? Yea, doubtless, and much more wil
he do, inasmuch as the manifestation of truth
is more clear than it was in their days; and in-
asmuch as the rulers and people of this nation
have rejected a more clear testimony, than
either the Papists in queen Mary's days, or the
bishops and prelates in their days; even so
much the more will the Lord God execute his
vengeance with more violence, in a more mani-
fest way; and all shall know, that it is he that
doth it, and he will set his people free; for he
hath regarded their sufferings, and he hath said
it is enough; for he hath tried them, and found
them faithful; and all this hath been suffered to
prove them, and not to destroy them: and like
as he hath preserved them in patience and peace
through it all, even so will he give them hearts
to walk answerably to their deliverance; and
as they have abounded in patience in their suf-
ferings, so shall they abound in praises everlast-
ing in the day of their freedom, and the earth
shall be glad, and shall yield the increase and

blessing; the heaven and earth shall rejoice, and the hearts of the righteous shall leap for joy; when the Lord hath broken the yoke of the oppressed, and set his people free, inwardly and outwardly; and then shall they sing to the Lord over all their enemies, who shall be tormented and vexed in the Lord's sore displeasure; for their reward cometh, and their recompence shall be even as their work, and he will give unto them sorrow and anguish, instead of rejoicing.

"But again, when I considered the long suffering, and patience, and forbearance of the Lord's innocent people under all their sufferings; and when I looked at their innocency, and at their righteousness, and spirit of holiness, with which the Lord hath blessed them, my heart was made glad in the consideration of this; and the more was my joy, the more I beheld their innocency, and the guiltlessness of their cause; whereby the injustice of their suffering did the more appear; and withal, when I looked and beheld their increase under all their sufferings, and how that the Lord had turned all these things to their good, and to the overthrow of all their enemies; how that by that way, wherein their enemies intended to destroy them from being a people, even thereby did the Lord most wonderfully increase them to be a great people; for through all have they grown in life and

power, and in strength, and in number, and through it all have they been encouraged to follow the Lord with more zeal and boldness. And in the consideration of this I did rejoice, with magnifying the Lord for ever, that he had brought forth his praise, even through the wickedness of the wicked, and he had increased his people, and exalted them through the cruelty of all their enemies; and that through all opposition they had attained unto a happy rest, and through all the tempest of great trials, they were arrived into the harbour of renown and great glory: and when I consider this, how that the Lord had given them dominion, and brought their life to reign over all their enemies, these things were a joy to me; and looking back into ages, seeing there was nothing, nor any people for generations, that had grown, and risen through all opposition like unto these; wherefore it is a sign and testimony that we are the Lord's, and that these things are of him, and from him, and by him alone, that he might be praised for ever.

"Again, when I do consider, how that the Lord had raised his people, even out of the dust; and them that were not a people are become a people; and the Lord hath provoked nations by them that were not a people within these few years; and the Lord hath carried on this work amongst his people, not by any thing

of man, nor by the arm of flesh; but in pure innocency and simplicity hath it been accomplished; not by the wisdom of this world, nor by men in places of honour, and of power in the nations; for all that has been wanting to them; and what they are, it is through the opposition of all this; for they have had none of the great men of the earth on their side to defend them, and establish them, but all have been against them; and even oppression and tyranny executed upon them, rather than any approbation, or justification from men in outward authority: so that truly it may be said, there hath been nothing of man in this work, but all of the Lord, by his own power, and in a contrary way to all the false sects, and false churches, hath the beginning and carrying on of these things been; for we know that all the false sects in this nation, have risen, and been established through the countenance of men in place and power; and upon man, and the wisdom of this world, and authority of the powers the earth, hath the rise and fall of all false churches depended: and as the powers of the earth have sided with them, so have they been lifted up; and at the displeasure of authority, have been cast down. But as for this people, they are raised of the Lord, and established by his power, even contrary *to all* men; and they have *their power only* to God, and they cannot

give their power to any mortal men, to stand or fall by any outward authority, and to that they cannot seek; but to the Lord alone, who heareth their cry, and will avenge their cause.

"Wherefore let all the persecutors bow before the Lord, and let all the saints walk humbly in his sight, and let them continue in that innocent life in which they have begun; and let them never forget the mercies of the Lord, and what he hath brought to pass, who hath manifested great things, and will do more and more to the confounding of all his enemies, and to the praise of his elect people. And all ye saints upon the earth have ye the Lord in respect continually, and turn you not unto idols, but let the Lord be your joy for evermore.

"E. B."

Not long after the publishing of this paper, in the month called May, Edward Burrough, and Samuel Fisher, went from Dover to Dunkirk, where then was an English garrison. Being come there, it was quickly spread over the town. The governor Lockhart now not being there, his deputy, colonel Alsop, with the council of officers sent for them: and they being come, were asked, what their business was there? to which they gave answer; and the next morning signified in writing, that their coming *was to visit the* jesuits, friars, and priests, and

other papists, to shew them the errors of their ways, and the falsity of their worship, &c. they being called to preach the everlasting gospel to the nations. They were some hours in discourse with the said deputy, and the officers, and not unkindly treated; but the deputy however said that it would be dangerous for them to stay in the town; and therefore, he desired them to depart. To which their answer was, that if he desired them, they could not receive any such desire; and if he commanded them, they could not obey his command in that case; because they could not depart the town but in the will of God; according to which will they came thither. After much reasoning they left them, and the next day went to the Capuchin friars, and had some discourse with the chiefest of them in their garden, concerning the light of Christ, that every man is enlightened withal; and told them, that the mighty day of the Lord was at hand upon them; and that the Lord was come to search and try them; and that he would hew down their idolatrous ways, worships and works. The next day Burrough wrote some queries to the friars and nuns, in and about the town, which were sent to them in Latin. The introduction was thus:

"The mighty day of the Lord is come, and coming upon you, and all the world. Awake,

awake, ye that sleep in the earth, for the dreadful God is arising to plead with you, and to give unto all the world the cup of his fierce indignation, because of your idolatries, and hypocrisies, and abominations, which have corrupted the earth, and are come up before him, and have provoked him; and the cry of the just, who have been smitten, and laid slain is entered into the ears of the Most High, and his sword which is the word of his mouth, is awakened to wound and destroy all his enemies. And the day of your visitation is now come, wherein the Lord is searching you, and trying you, that he may recompense you; and this is the word of the Lord to you.

"Wherefore I am moved of the Lord to propound some few queries to you, for the trial of your spirits and ways; to which I demand your answer, that all things may be brought to light and true judgment, and that you may be judged justly, and by the Spirit of the Lord cleared or condemned according to your deeds.;

These queries were partly concerning the orders of friars and nuns, whether any such were in the church in the apostles' days; and concerning the popish worship and ceremonials demanding proof of their lawfulness from the holy Scriptures. After the delivering of these queries to the Capuchins, Burrough and Fisher

went also to the friars of other orders, and entered into discourse with them: but their plain speeches against their idolatrous rites and ceremonies, found no entrance. After some stay in the town, they going to the college of Jesuits, got into discourse with their chief rector; and after a conference of about three hours, he grew weary, and pretending other business, would stay no longer with them; and so they parted, asking him, whether he would admit more discourse at some other time? But he refused it. Burrough afterwards wrote a letter to him which began thus:

"Friend, thy wisdom and knowledge is earthly and sensual, and thereby canst thou not know the things of the kingdom of God:" and he concluded with this query: "What is that whore that hath sat upon multitudes of people? And what is that golden cup in her hand? And what are the abominations and fornication of which her cup is full, which she hath caused the kings and people to drink?" &c.

But neither this query, nor the others were answered. Burrough and Fisher did also visit the nuns; and speaking to them through a grate, they asked, if they were of the order of those called Quakers; and soon perceiving they were such, *they said*, they might not hear them,



and so presently passed away; wherel
rough and Fisher were deprived of any
tunity to speak to them; only they w
against them. E. Burrough wrote al
propositions to the jesuits, priests, an
wherein he particularly represented the
of the church of Rome in true colou
these propositions were sent to them
They staid yet some days in town,
divers meetings among the English
and Burrough also wrote to them, and l
to be faithful to the Lord, and not
themselves in their service, but the h
God: he also shewed them what their
in their military station; and not to gi
too rough a brush, but to meet them s
in their own way; following therein th
ple of John the Baptist, when he spok
soldiers, (Luke iii. 14.) told them, "
you know but the Lord may have so
work for you to do, if you be faithful t
And he also signified to them, that
Lord one day would avenge the innoce
shed in the pope's dominions, and
against Babylon and Rome, the sea
whore, and the kingdom of antichrist, i
not improbable to him, that the Lo
make way thereto by the English nati
is" said he, "the Lord's work, I know
men truly religious; but yet he may

you, to break down the briars and thorns, and the rocks and hills that have set themselves against the Lord," &c. He also advised them, if ever such a work fell to be their lot, not to be ambitious, nor vain-glorious, but to make it their work to demand the disannulling of the popish inquisition and cruel laws. And the officers he charged, not to be as tyrants and oppressors over the poor soldiers, but to be loving and meek, and examples of all goodness unto them: to this he added: "And having no sin lying upon your consciences, then shall ye face your enemies with courage, and not fear death, but shall be ready to lay down your lives in a good cause." But lest any might think he was for the bearing of arms, and not for harmlessness or non-resistance, he told them also, that the Lord had a more honourable work to work after them, viz. to destroy the kingdom of the Devil, and the ground of wars. And that there was a more honourable victory to be waited for, to wit, the victory over sin, &c.

Burrough and Fisher being once sent for by the governor Lockhart, found many officers with him; and after some friendly discourse, they advised them to moderation, and the fear of God, and so parted from them. And after having performed their service in the town, they returned to England.

Not long after Burrough gave the aforesaid queries out in print, and wrote also a paper to the parliament; exhorting those that were members of that assembly, to fear God, and not to oppress honest people, but to free them from oppression and tyranny; lest the Lord come suddenly upon them and break them to pieces.

The power of the protector Richard Cromwell already declining, he was prevailed upon by the officers of the army to dissolve this parliament, which began to make enquiry how the subsidies were employed: and by the direction of some of the chief republicans, the long parliament was called again. This parliament set up a committee of safety, for apprehending those that disturbed the peace, and for making an alteration among the military officers, either by cashiering them, or otherwise; and, increasing in power, it erected also a council of state; and word was sent to Richard Cromwell, who was now deprived of all power, to remove from Whitehall, which at length he did, the parliament allowing him two thousand pounds for the charges of removing, and promising to pay his debts contracted for the public: and his brother Henry, who was lord deputy of Ireland, was called back by the parliament. Thus these two brothers were again reduced to the state of private men.

E. Burrough now wrote a letter to the parliament, and seriously exhorted them therein to

desist from all persecution for religion, and to take away that which gave occasion thereunto. About this time there was an insurrection in Cheshire for king Charles, under sir George Booth; who, having received a commission from that prince, got such numbers of followers, that he seized the city of Chester. In the mean-while the parliament sent Edmund Ludlow to Ireland, to be commander in chief of the army there, instead of Henry Cromwell, and general Lambert was sent with an army against Booth. Now since some rash people, that went under the name of Quakers, were for taking up arms under Lambert, and that the committee of safety offered great places and commands to some of that persuasion, thereby to draw them off from the truth they professed, G. Fox wrote a paper, wherein he shewed, the unlawfulness of wars and fightings, representing it as a work not at all becoming the followers of Christ: and he exhorted his friends not to join with those that took up arms, but to fight only with spiritual weapons, which took away the occasion of the carnal. This he also recommended in his preaching, for an harmless and an inoffensive life, was that which he always asserted and practised.

As for Booth, he was defeated, and endeavouring to make his escape in woman's clothes, was discovered *in* an inn, and taken into custo-

dy; and being carried to London, by an
of the parliament he was committed to the
er. The officers of the army, of which Ge
Fleetwood was now commander in chief, w
very busy to get the upper hand of the par
ment; which caused great division and distr
tion in this nation; for it was well known, th
if the supreme power was offered to t
army they then could do what they would
and thus the nation would be governed by th
sword. It was also fresh in memory, that i
was the army by which Cromwell had bee
advanced so as to become protector, and su-
preme ruler of the nation: and therefore many
opposed the design on foot.

About this time also the military officers moved the taking off of the burthen of tithes, and to settle another maintenance for the national preachers. But being unwilling that the parliament should be masters of the army, they complained of having been deceived by the parliament; and colonel Desborough said, that they had not performed any part of the promises they had made to the army; that they had taken no care to secure a liberty to tender consciences; and that their intention was to remove the principal officers, and place others in their commands, who were of different principles.

Now the council of officers was for calling a new parliament; but this met with no small

opposition. In this bustle the council of officers began to insinuate with the clergy, and they agreed with them, that their maintenance by tithes should not be taken away till another revenue as ample and certain should be settled upon them: that some provision should be made for those who differed in faith and worship from the established church; but that the Quakers, and some others, whose principles they said tended to the destruction of civil society, should not be tolerated at all. In this distracted state of affairs, when some were for, and others against the parliament, so that it was hardly well known in whom the supreme authority resided, Edward Burrough wrote and published in print a large speech, which he stiled, "A message to the present rulers of England, whether committee of safety (so called) council of officers, or others whatsoever." He signified by way of introduction, that the contents had been upon him to deliver by speech and word of mouth, to the men then in power; but no way being made for him so to do, he had written what was upon him. And then he begins thus with a majestic strain.

"Friends,

"My Master is a high, and mighty, and powerful prince, and very honourable; and fear, reverence, *respect*, and subjection belongs to

him alone, from you and all mankind. He is wise, and understanding, and of great strength, and his dominion is from everlasting to everlasting; and he can do whatsoever he will in heaven and earth, for he rules with his iron rod over the world, and whatsoever he saith, it is done; for his word is an everlasting command. If he saith to a man, live, it is so; if he saith to a man, die, it cometh to pass; and if he give peace to a man, or a nation, none can make war; and if he make war with a person, or in a nation, no man is able to make peace. For why? He hath all power in his hand, and to him all judgment and authority is given; he is the son of the living God, the everlasting Creator; he was, and is, and is to come; his eye beholdeth all things, and his arm compasseth heaven and earth; and what his purpose is, he hath always, and will ever bring it to pass. If he set up rulers, they must rule; and if he pull them down, none can hinder: whom he will, he honoureth; and if it be his pleasure, he bringeth men to shame. If he break a nation down, none can build it up; and if he confound powers and authorities in the kingdoms of men, they all fall as withered grass before him. Behold ye men! He is so great and mighty, and of so great authority, that whatsoever he saith, it is done; and whatsoever he willeth, it cometh to pass; and none is able to resist him, and over-

come his power, when his pleasure is to accomplish a work. By him all things are that be, and all things live that have life, and through him all things move, and of his fulness every creature in heaven and earth receives. And this, my Master, is altogether honourable in birth, and otherwise, and altogether mighty in all his works; he is just and merciful, full of goodness, righteousness, and truth; all virtue dwells in him, and his judgment and mercy, his authority and meekness, and his wrath and his love, they are companions: and what are ye before him? Or how shall ye be able to resist him, or to turn backward what his purpose is concerning you and this nation? For ye have no being nor breath without him. Behold ye men! Ye are verily as the dust before the wind, so are ye to him, soon blown away, and your place not found; as the grass before the mower, so are ye before him, soon cut down, and withered, and your beauty utterly extinguished; as a potter's vessel under an iron rod, even so are you to him, he can immediately break you, never to be bound up; as a drop to the fountain, so are you to him, soon dried up, and made nothing. Wherefore ye men, ye mortal creatures, ye ignorant persons, sons of a transgressor, ye dust and ashes; for thus you are in comparison of him, this mighty prince; hearken to *his message*, which cometh to you

from him; hear and fear, and be not stout-hearted against the Lord God, who is about to speak unto you.

"As for this little island of England, wherein your present place and being is, it is an island which the Lord hath shewed great favour unto in ages past, and in this present time: and I must tell you, he hath a purpose of love towards it, and to honour it in the view of the world, though through great tribulations: and he hath an intent of great good unto it: for he hath a people that fear his name, and have walked in his ways, and he hath made them, and elected them, and what they are, it is by him: that he may dwell among them, and have the whole government over them all; yea, verily, he hath a speedy purpose concerning this nation, and he will purify it in judgment, and refine its inhabitants through the fire of tribulations, that it may be pleasant to him, and fit to do his will; he hath a purpose to work some great thing in it, I must tell you, as he hath said unto me so to do; he will have his name exalted and reverenced in this island, and his terror shall be sent out of it through the world, and his branch from it shall spread over the earth; he doth purpose in its season to take it into his own hand, and to sway the government thereof with his own sceptre, and to set up righteousness alone, and to overthrow all oppressors and op-

ons; and the kingdoms of this world must
ie the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his
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rue it is, such hath been the coming to
f time and of things for many ages past,
ıy Master hath been, as it were, banished
the nation, and hath not been suffered to
his right; but hath been expelled, even
vere, by the force of Satan and antichrist,
have long usurped authority over the
itants of this nation; and in my Master's
ce, lamentable injustice, cruelty, unmer-
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d upon the inhabitants; and the poor
ıres have been held in great slavery by
rulers, who have ruled by the dragon's
r; and been kept in great blindness and
ance and under great oppression, both in
and spirit, by antichristian teachers, for
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ecutors of them; merciless tyrants have borne the sceptre, and reigned for many years over the inhabitants, and in church and state have been heinous idolatry and superstitions vanities committed in a high nature and measure, and even all men, and states of men, and orders of men of every degree have been abominably corrupted in the sight of the Lord, even from the prince to the beggar, even rulers and subjects, teachers and people, judges and prophets; they have been corrupted both in heart and hand, and they have dealt falsely and wickedly towards him and towards one another: even to the great displeasure and vexation of him, and his blessed spirit and to the high provocation of him to their own destruction, if his long suffering had not prevailed; and all this while he hath lain as it were asleep, and at rest in himself; and he hath left men to try them, what they will do, and he hath given them a day; many kings and rulers, he hath let them have a little time, to see how they would use it, but they have abused it and not ruled for him, nor accomplished his work, nor fulfilled his will, but acted even in defiance of him, and of his power, and to his great dishonour.

"Alack I must be plain with you; my Lord hath been utterly exiled, and greatly dishonoured, and highly *provoked* and vexed by reason of *such proceedings, as* have been in the nation

these many years, through the corruption
sorts of men in place and power, who hav
ruled for him, but for the Devil to their
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ed authority in this island: and when it was thus, then he looked down from heaven, and his bowells of compassion were opened, for the sake of the oppressed people that desired after him, insomuch that he broke and threw down the power of their oppressors in some measure, as it stood in papal authority, and when the iniquity of that power was filled up, he took vengeance upon it; and I must tell you, it was he that brought it about, even the destroying of that power in this nation, and freeing the nation from it, though the men who were instruments in the cause were not his servants, otherwise than as Nebuchadnezzar served him; for he hath a secret way to have a service from the wicked and such is his power, that he can turn the wickedness of the wicked to his glory, and he can make a rod to whip his adversaries, and burn it when he hath done, and he hath often destroyed one wickedness by another.

"Well, but to leave that, though he did in some measure free the nation from much tyranny and cruelty, in the casting out popish authority, yet alas! the nation in a few years was near as much violated by injustice and cruelty, under the succeeding power, as ever it was under the papal power; though before, there had been some small reformation and change in outward appearance, though little in ground and nature; yet oppression, and idolatry, and super-

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this nation a day of great troubles, an
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ordering of my Master's hand; yet so
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restored to peace, though much unrighte

and injustice was removed, yet there was much also left behind; and men that he had used as instruments in his hand, in a good work, and to whom he had given wisdom and understanding, and appeared in much mercy and in great deliverance: yet they even turned to seek themselves, and became corrupted in the spoils of their enemies, and when peace and plenty abounded, the Lord was forgotten again; and then the land fell under oppressors, and began again to cry out for freedom, even when other horns of the first beast sprung up, and went on each one after his fellow: and though one horn hath striven to break another, yet after one hath been cast down, another hath risen, and made an image to the first, and ruled and reigned by the same spirit and authority, derived from the dragon's power in cruelty and oppression, and made laws, and executed them to the dishonour of the Lord, and to the great oppression of his people, and to the filling of this island with injustice and cruelty, even from one generation to another, unto this day: and thus up and down have times and seasons been altered, statutes, laws and decrees, changeable and alterable; for as the iniquity of one power was filled up, that was cast down, and another had its day, till the measure thereof was also filled up, that it might partake of the same judgments. And in all these *overturnings*, breakings down and over-

throwings, the very hand of my Lord hath been, though secretly, and not discerned; yet his power hath brought about, and suffered all these things to come to pass; and who shall charge him with injustice? Or, who shall say, "What hast thou done; Or, "Why hast thou done it?" For as I have said, he is a high and mighty prince, and can do whatsoever he will; and he is the supreme power and authority, which rules and reigns in and over all the kingdoms of men. And what though he hath used wicked men as instruments to accomplish his work, and made the wicked his rod, and even brought it to pass that one wickedness should destroy another, and one oppressor break down another, and the kingdom of antichrist confound itself: yet what of all these things? All flesh must be silent before him, and all people, and the whole earth must be subject unto him; for the government and dominion over heaven and earth are his, and all power and dominion belong to him alone, and all judgment is in his hand, to bring to pass whatsoever he will, and by whomsoever, as he pleaseth.

"But now, my friends, though I would not be tedious to you, yet must I tell you the truth, and faithfully deliver the Lord's message unto you; and as concerning this last overturning, there was something of the hand of my Lord in it; and he can, and will bring forth his own work and praise by it; and it shall be for the good of

eople, that wait upon him, though there
ch ambition and corrupted ends in the
ents, and neither part were perfectly
› the Lord in their proceedings: but
›rk was tainted with the false idolatrous
' self-seeking: yet notwithstanding, the
ay bring forth his government, and his
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›east, that hath been made to rule over the
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the seventh, spoken of by that servant,

Rev. xvii. 11. and it may also make war w
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and persecution to bring forth in the land, ev
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how should the Lord establish it? Nay, yo
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the people under you; but confusion will atte
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selves, and not seek your own honours, nor any earthly advantage to yourselves; if you do thus, then my Lord will shew mercy to you, and you shall not suddenly fall before your enemies, though many may rise up against you: but your days shall be lengthened, and the purpose of the Lord may be turned to your longer continuance, and not to your sudden destruction; and if you walk in this way, and rule only for the Lord, then shall you be honoured as men, if not as an authority, and you and the nation preserved in peace, and the force of the wicked shall be turned backward, and you shall not suddenly fall. And the late sundry overturnings in this nation may be examples to you, that you follow not the steps of those that God hath cast out, lest you come to the same confusion and misery: for, as concerning that assembly of men, that last sate on the throne, something was done by them in their day and time, and in both their assemblings, in some things they served my Lord, and they were a rod in his hand to smite his enemies; yet they were not faithful to the end, till all his enemies were destroyed, but rather joined themselves to fight against the Lord and his people, and were hastening on towards the way of oppression and persecution; and it was time for the Lord to remove them, and to lay them aside as an *empty vessel, sometime* useful; and to break

them as a rod, sometime of service *to be a* scourge upon his enemies: and when the day of their trial was over, which God gave unto them, being any longer (for the present) unfit instruments for his hands, then he cast them into the fire: and this his purpose came to pass upon them: so that they and the whole nation may be contented, and yield themselves subject to what he hath done concerning them; for they entering into the very same spirit of wickedness, of oppression and persecution, which the Lord hath once reproved through them, and cast out by them; then was a rod raised up against them, even as they had been against others, and they were dealt withal as they had done to others; and this was in the justice of my Lord's hand; and what hath mortal man to question his proceedings? And though some of you (present rulers) be looked upon as traitors and tyrants in your dealings towards them; and doubtless the men of that part will seek vengeance against you, even by preaching and praying, and they will curse you in the name of their God, and seek continually your destruction, as such as have taken away part of their strength, and cast down their idol; but alas! All this is nothing; for the Lord doth not account as men: for these things must needs thus come to pass, for the furtherance of the kingdom and *government* of Jesus Christ, that



it may arise through all; and if you were but faithful to what the Lord requires of you, in your proceedings, what you have done unto them should not be reckoned on account against you, neither by God, nor good men. But and if you of the army be always treacherous and disobedient towards him, and abuse your power, and disregard your price that God hath given you, and trifle away your hour about places of honour, and such self-seeking matters, and the cause of God be neglected by you, and his people continued oppressed sufferers under you, as they have long been; even then shall you be cast aside with shameful disgrace, and the heavy hand of the Lord shall be upon you in judgment, and you shall be smitten more than ay before you; your estates shall not be spar- from the spoiler, nor your soul from the pit, r your persons from the violence of men, no, your necks from the axe: for if you be faithful, and continually treacherous to the se of God, then shall you be left to the will our enemies, and they shall charge treach- and treason upon you, and your persons estates shall be given for a prey to your ies; and you shall not deliver yourselves, r will the Lord deliver you from the exe- of merciless men; for my Lord shall the cruel-hearted to plead with you.

Therefore that you may be warned, I ad-

him alone, from you and all mankind. He is wise, and understanding, and of great strength, and his dominion is from everlasting to everlasting; and he can do whatsoever he will in heaven and earth, for he rules with his iron rod over the world, and whatsoever he saith, it is done; for his word is an everlasting command. If he saith to a man, live, it is so; if he saith to a man, die, it cometh to pass; and if he give peace to a man, or a nation, none can make war; and if he make war with a person, or in a nation, no man is able to make peace. For why? He hath all power in his hand, and to him all judgment and authority is given; he is the son of the living God, the everlasting Creator; he was, and is, and is to come; his eye beholdeth all things, and his arm compasseth heaven and earth; and what his purpose is, he hath always, and will ever bring it to pass. If he set up rulers, they must rule; and if he pull them down, none can hinder: whom he will, he honoureth; and if it be his pleasure, he bringeth men to shame. If he break a nation down, none can build it up; and if he confound powers and authorities in the kingdoms of men, they all fall as withered grass before him. Behold ye men! He is so great and mighty, and of so *great authority*, that whatsoever he saith, it is *done; and* whatsoever he willeth, it cometh to *pass; and* none is able to resist him, and over-

come his power, when his pleasure is to accomplish a work. By him all things are that be, and all things live that have life, and through him all things move, and of his fulness every creature in heaven and earth receives. And this, my Master, is altogether honourable in birth, and otherwise, and altogether mighty in all his works; he is just and merciful, full of goodness, righteousness, and truth; all virtue dwells in him, and his judgment and mercy, his authority and meekness, and his wrath and his love, they are companions: and what are ye before him? Or how shall ye be able to resist him, or to turn backward what his purpose is concerning you and this nation? For ye have no being nor breath without him. Behold ye men! Ye are verily as the dust before the wind, so are ye to him, soon blown away, and your place not found; as the grass before the mower, so are ye before him, soon cut down, and withered, and your beauty utterly extinguished; as a potter's vessel under an iron rod, even so are you to him, he can immediately break you, never to be bound up; as a drop to the fountain, so are you to him, soon dried up, and made nothing. Wherefore ye men, ye mortal creatures, ye ignorant persons, sons of a transgressor, ye dust and ashes; for thus you are *in comparison of him*, this mighty prince; *hearken to his message*, which cometh to you

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and came to pass, that after this nation
restored to peace, though much unrighteou

and injustice was removed, yet there was much also left behind; and men that he had used as instruments in his hand, in a good work, and to whom he had given wisdom and understanding, and appeared in much mercy and in great deliverance: yet they even turned to seek themselves, and became corrupted in the spoils of their enemies, and when peace and plenty abounded, the Lord was forgotten again; and then the land fell under oppressors, and began again to cry out for freedom, even when other horns of the first beast sprung up, and went on each one after his fellow: and though one horn hath striven to break another, yet after one hath been cast down, another hath risen, and made an image to the first, and ruled and reigned by the same spirit and authority, derived from the dragon's power in cruelty and oppression, and made laws, and executed them to the dishonour of the Lord, and to the great oppression of his people, and to the filling of this island with injustice and cruelty, even from one generation to another, unto this day: and thus up and down have times and seasons been altered, statutes, laws and decrees, changeable and alterable; for as the iniquity of one power was filled up, that was cast down, and another had its day, till the measure *thereof* was also filled up, that it might *partake of the* same judgments. And in all *these overturnings*, breakings down and over-

throwings, the very hand of my Lord hath been, though secretly, and not discerned; yet his power hath brought about, and suffered all these things to come to pass; and who shall charge him with injustice? Or, who shall say, "What hast thou done; Or, "Why hast thou done it?" For as I have said, he is a high and mighty prince, and can do whatsoever he will; and he is the supreme power and authority, which rules and reigns in and over all the kingdoms of men. And what though he hath used wicked men as instruments to accomplish his work, and made the wicked his rod, and even brought it to pass that one wickedness should destroy another, and one oppressor break down another, and the kingdom of antichrist confound itself: yet what of all these things? All flesh must be silent before him, and all people, and the whole earth must be subject unto him; for the government and dominion over heaven and earth are his, and all power and dominion belong to him alone, and all judgment is in his hand, to bring to pass whatsoever he will, and by whomsoever, as he pleaseth.

"But now, my friends, though I would not be tedious to you, yet must I tell you the truth, and faithfully deliver the Lord's message unto you; and as concerning this last overturning, *there was some*thing of the hand of my Lord in *it; and he can*, and will bring forth his own work *and praise by it*; and it shall be for the good of

all his people, that wait upon him, though there was much ambition and corrupted ends in the instruments, and neither part were perfectly single to the Lord in their proceedings: but their work was tainted with the false idolatrous spirit of self-seeking: yet notwithstanding, the Lord may bring forth his government, and his pleasant plant, through and beyond all this, even out of another root, which yet appears not among either of them; and righteousness may arise in the nation, contrary to both of them, out of another stem, and he will set up his kingdom; and in the mean time, leave one potsherd of the earth to break another.

"And as for you, that now sit on the throne and bear rule, whether committee of safety (so called) chiefly, though it is not without my Master; for he hath the knowledge of it, at least; yet you are not the only men of his choice, truly called of him to the place of government, neither is your government the government of the Lamb, neither must it be for ever established by him; its foundation is not blessed, nor can its building be prosperous: for why; Alas, it is but another horn of that fourth beast, that hath been made to rule over the world, and upon the earth for many generations, and it is but *hitherto* a very little refined from *the last, and is of the* last, even as the eighth *is of the seventh,* spoken of by that servant,

Rev. xvii. 11. and it may also make war with the Lamb and his followers for a little season, and it may have a small measure of injustice and persecution to bring forth in the land, even till the words of God be fulfilled, and his kingdom be fully come; the way of which is but yet preparing by all these overturnings: and this your present government originally is leavened with the spirit of the old dragon, that hath killed the saints, and drunk their blood, and how should the Lord establish it? Nay, your kingdom may prove but small, and full of uproars and troubles and little peace, and satisfaction and establishment in it to yourselves, or the people under you; but confusion will attend it, and fears will compass it about: though this I must tell you, as you are men, you have your day of trial what you will do, as many others have had before you; and something you may and ought to do, if but to make the whore (the false church) more naked, and to scourge her, more than some others have done; and indeed my Lord requires something more of you (as such) to do, than others before you could do; and you have a price put into your hands, which you may improve to the Lord's honour, and to the nations good, and to your own happiness; *which if you* be faithful to the Lord, to do what *he requires of* you, and if you become meek and *humble men*, and fear his name, and deny your

selves, and not seek your own honours, nor any earthly advantage to yourselves; if you do thus, then my Lord will shew mercy to you, and you shall not suddenly fall before your enemies, though many may rise up against you: but your days shall be lengthened, and the purpose of the Lord may be turned to your longer continuance, and not to your sudden destruction; and if you walk in this way, and rule only for the Lord, then shall you be honoured as men, if not as an authority, and you and the nation preserved in peace, and the force of the wicked shall be turned backward, and you shall not suddenly fall. And the late sundry overturnings in this nation may be examples to you, that you follow not the steps of those that God hath cast out, lest you come to the same confusion and misery: for, as concerning that assembly of men, that last sate on the throne, something was done by them in their day and time, and in both their assemblings, in some things they served my Lord, and they were a rod in his hand to smite his enemies; yet they were not faithful to the end, till all his enemies were destroyed, but rather joined themselves to fight against the Lord and his people, and were hastening on towards the way of oppression and *persecution; and it was* time for the Lord to *remove them,* and to lay them aside as an *empty vessel,* sometime useful; and to break

them as a rod, sometime of service to be
scourge upon his enemies: and when the d
of their trial was over, which God gave un
them, being any longer (for the present) unf
instruments for his hands, then he cast the
into the fire: and this his purpose came to pa
upon them: so that they and the whole nati
may be contented, and yield themselves subje
to what he hath done concerning them; f
they entering into the very same spirit of wic
edness, of oppression and persecution, whi
the Lord hath once reproved through them, a
cast out by them; then was a rod raised
against them, even as they had been again
others, and they were dealt withal as they h
done to others; and this was in the justice
my Lord's hand; and what hath mortal man
question his proceedings? And though some
you (present rulers) be looked upon as traitc
and tyrants in your dealings towards then
and doubtless the men of that part will se
vengeance against you, even by preaching a
praying, and they will curse you in the name
their God, and seek continually your destru
tion, as such as have taken away part of th
strength, and cast down their idol; but ala
All this is nothing; for the Lord doth
account as men: for these things must ne
thus come to pass, for the furtherance of
kingdom and government of Jesus Christ.

it may arise through all; and if you were but faithful to what the Lord requires of you, in your proceedings, what you have done unto them should not be reckoned on account against you, neither by God, nor good men. But and if you of the army be always treacherous and disobedient towards him, and abuse your power, and disregard your price that God hath given you, and trifle away your hour about places of honour, and such self-seeking matters, and the cause of God be neglected by you, and his people continued oppressed sufferers under you, as they have long been; even then shall you be cast aside with shameful disgrace, and the heavy hand of the Lord shall be upon you in judgment, and you shall be smitten more than any before you; your estates shall not be spared from the spoiler, nor your soul from the pit, nor your persons from the violence of men, no, nor your necks from the axe: for if you be unfaithful, and continually treacherous to the cause of God, then shall you be left to the will of your enemies, and they shall charge treachery and treason upon you, and your persons and estates shall be given for a prey to your enemies; and you shall not deliver yourselves, neither will the Lord deliver you from the execution of merciless men; for my Lord shall save the cruel-hearted to plead with you.

Wherefore that you may be warned, I ad-

vise you to be faithful, let not the cause of God fall, nor the cause of his enemies prosper before you; for there is no other way whereby you can be preserved, nor any other defence shall you ever find from the wrath of the Lord, and from the fury of your devouring enemies, than your faithfulness in God's cause; and therefore relieve the oppressed, and take off all oppressions, break down all unjust laws, and set all people free from unjust burdens, and let all oppression cease, both in church and civil state; and even all oppressive laws, and unjust judges, and evil men in power, let all these be removed, and the nation clean quitted and discharged even from all men and laws whatsoever, that have held under oppression the persons, estates and consciences of the good people of this land; and let the nation be corrected, and all orders and places of men, and laws, and decrees be purified; for this my Lord, the great King, requireth, and he will suddenly have it brought to pass in the nation, if not by you, then contrary to you, and to your utter destruction: and this is the very substance of my message to you, that my Master hath given me to say unto you; and on his behalf I am come to claim of you my Master's long lost right; let him have his right, from which he hath long been banished; I demand it of you, all ye whatsoever, that seem to bear rule in the nation; I

charge you in his name let him have his title and prerogative, let him be Lord and King wholly in his own kingdom, let him have the exercise of his peoples consciences by his own spirit in all things relating to his worship and service, and let him have the full authority by his spirit in all things pertaining to church, and ministry, and faith, and religion; and let his spirit have the alone authority to persuade and dissuade people from, or to such or such ministry, worship and practices of religion; and let all forced maintenance to ministers, and tithes, be speedily taken away; and let all laws and decrees whatsoever, made and practised in the days of antichrist, upon the bodies, estates and consciences of the people, in oppression and ...ustice about church, and worship, and re...ion, be utterly repealed, and made void, and ...er more be in force in this nation: but let Lord be sole ruler and governor, and have full authority in his own kingdom, in all ...s whatsoever pertaining thereunto; and ...o man henceforth hereafter be intrusted the liberties of the members of Christ's ...om, as they are such, nor to judge over ...n any matters of faith and worship, but ...at right and privilege wholly unto the ...f Jesus Christ; for unto him only it per... to be whole judge, and to have full ... *his own kingdom*; and until you give

him the light, and deliver up unto him his ow
kingdom, and the exercise of peoples consciei
ces in all things about religion, you shall nev
prosper, nor any that come after you, th
shall in measure abridge my Master of his pr
per right, from which he hath long been ba
ished, as I have said; and till his right be give
him, in the case aforesaid, he will dash one m
against another, and none shall ever be esta
lished; but horn after horn shall be brok
and one power after another brought into co
fusion.

"And therefore ye men do not strive wi
him in this matter, but yield unto him the exe
cise of your own conscience by his spirit
you, and let him do so unto all others, even
ye hope to prosper and upon the penalty of
sore displeasure upon you in the world to com
and let just men, and righteous men, and me
men, and men, that have the fear and wisd
of God in them, without acceptation of birth,
otherwise; let such men determine in things
tween man and man. Down with all the fal
hearted flatterers, that have ruled for man a
not for God, and for themselves, and not for
good of the people; cast all such out from yo
for the good among you is choked by the
down with all hireling rulers, that execute
law for money, and will not plead the cause
the poor without great fees: and down with

that will not serve places of trust without such large stipends; away with all these things out of the land, for they are heinous oppressions unto men, and great abominations in the sight of God, and the land hath long groaned under the weight and burden of these things, and the earth is weary of them and my Lord requires their utter dissolution, as being iniquities fully ripe, and having the guilt of so much cruelty, injustice, and oppression lying upon the nation because hereof, therefore is the Lord's season to destroy them, and remove them out of the land; which if you be the instruments in such a work, it will be your greatest crown, and your perpetual honour; for the Lord's purpose is one way or other to cleanse the land of all these and other oppressions whatsoever, that the people of this land may be a free people from all the heavy yokes of antichrist, which have long sorely pressed them down; and the purpose of the Lord is to break the yokes of oppression and tyranny from off the necks of this people; and therefore it is that he overturneth, yea, and will overturn all men and authorities that shall oppose his work, and none shall be able to stand before him; for the presence of my Lord is more dreadful to a nation, when he shews himself in wrath, than any multitude of armed men; and woe is unto you, if you be found *opposing of him*; and if you seek to stop

his work, you shall not cumber the earth very long, nor oppress the nation many days. Wherefore consider, cursed will you be, if you be unfaithful in what you have to do on the Lord's behalf; for your hour passeth over, that is allotted you; and will be suddenly expired, never to be recalled, and then you cannot work.

"And whereas there is a great cry about ministry, for sending forth, and maintaining, and encouraging a godly ministry, as you say.

"Now to this I do answer on my Lord's behalf, and I must tell you plainly; as for a true godly ministry, truly called and sent of God, such a ministry, and such ministers, you can never be able to hinder: but the Lord will send them out, maintaining them and preserving them, whether you will or no; and while you are troubling yourselves about such a matter, you are but meddling with things above your line, and out of your jurisdiction, while you act in such a case; for it belongs to his government to send out ministers, whom, and as he will, and to maintain them and defend them according to his own pleasure, and all this without you; for such ministers, truly called thereunto, and sent of the Lord, will not seek to you to be sent forth, or maintained by you, they will not be beholden to you in such a case; but even without you, and contrary to you, must they be sent out, and maintained: so that the Lord will have a min-

istry in this nation purely of his own, and not of man, nor by man, and such a ministry you shall not be able to hinder.

"And I must tell you plainly, as for these men called ministers, in this nation, the way of their setting up, and sending forth, and the way of their maintenance, and the way of their sending and defence, and in every particular of their being such, they are the greatest and most woeful oppression in the nation; even the most abominable and unjust cruelties and tyrannies are acted through them, as any other thing in the nation: and they are (as such aforesaid) the woeful cause of the nation's groaning under merciless dealing; and there is upon their account the guilt of blood, injustice, and oppression lying upon this nation; their iniquities, cry for vengeance upon their own heads; for they are full, they are full, and the measure thereof is near finished, and God's eternal vengeance is their next reward from the eternal God. What shall I say of them, but this? The earth is oppressed by them, the inhabitants groan under them, and the righteous God is vexed through them, and they are the very men of high indignation and fierce wrath, and all their practices (as such) are the fuel of his anger, to be consumed by the fire of his jealousy! the nation is weary, and its inhabitants, and the Lord is weary, because *of these* men: and is this the

ministry cried up by you as godly and pious, &c.? Are these the men that the nation must be forced to maintain in their pride and idolatry? Is this the ministry that must be encouraged? Well, if these be the men, and this the ministry which must be established and encouraged by you, in so doing you shall never prosper, but thereby gain the displeasure of the Almighty unto you, to bring a curse upon all your doing, even because hereof; for I must tell you, the hand of my Lord is against them, and whosoever shall seek to defend them, shall not prosper in their doing, because their oppressions, cruelties, deceits, and abominations, are nigh finished and fulfilled: wherefore take heed unto yourselves, for this is my master's advice unto you; let this ministry alone, and join not yourselves to Baal, lest you perish, neither take part with antichrist any longer, neither be ye fighters against the Lamb and his kingdom; but free the nation, and let all its inhabitants be freed, from the cruel tasks and yokes of such men, and such a ministry, as aforesaid; uphold it not against the Lord, for if you do, you shall never be established; and this is from the mouth of my Lord unto you.

"And last of all my Master hath a people in this nation, even a suffering people, that have borne the burden of the cruelty, and injustice, and wickedness both of rulers and teachers, who have, as it were, trodden them down, and

nade them a very prey to their devouring nouths; the very cry of their sufferings hath eached unto heaven, and the very sound there- of your ears have heard; and this people are greatly beloved, and my Lord will assuredly ionour them, and his hand shall be continued to preserve and defend them against all their ene- mies whatsoever: and he doth reserve them to himself, and for a glorious work he hath to do by them; and he hath formed them for himself, and they cannot join with any of the horns of the great beast, neither can a place of honour pervert them from their perfect way; but my Lord, he compasseth them about on every side, and hath kept them in the midst of trials, re- proaches and sufferings, and covered them in the heat and in the storm, till his pleasure is to make further use of them: they are his, and not their own; and they must fulfil his will, and none besides: and they lie at rest in him, while mountains are overturned, and while one pots- herd of the earth breaks another; and this must be even till the appointed time: and to say no more of them, though much more might be said, they are had in remembrance before the Lord, to do with them even for his own glory, and for this nation's perpetual good; and to the author- ity of the Most High, through them, shall the kings of the earth, and nations of the world bow and tremble; *wherefore* ye men touch them not

neither do ye afflict them, even as ye hope to prosper; remember their cause, and suffer it not always to be rejected, as it hath long been, but keep yourselves free from the injustice and cruelty of them that have gone before you, who have been oppressors of that people, even till my Lord hath confounded them, and brought them into confusion; for there is the weight of blood, tyranny and oppression lying upon the nation in that people's cause, and my Lord will revenge them in his season; and though they are not weary of their sufferings, but are in the patience which beareth all things, yet the nation can never be happy, nor its government ever blessed, while this people are in bondage; and their sufferings are deeply considered by the Lord, and the season thereof is expiring; and when this cometh to pass, then woe unto the kingdom of antichrist, and to the whore and false prophet, even when their strength is dried up, by which they have made war against the Lamb, and his followers; yea, woe unto them, great fearfulness shall be upon all the world when the king of that people reigns upon the earth, and the time is at hand; blessed is the man that waiteth for it, and blessed is he that is not offended at his appearing, which suddenly cometh upon all the world.

"And thus I have told you the Lord's present message unto you, which I received from him,

and thus far I am clear; and whether you accept it, or reject it, my peace and reward is for ever with him, who am a subject of his kingdom, and a friend to this nation, however otherwise judged by ignorant men.

E. Burrough."

The 9th month, 1659.

"Now how soon after these sayings of Burrough, "Your estates shall not be spared from the spoiler, nor your heads from the axe; your enemies shall charge treason upon you, and if you seek to stop the Lord's work, you shall not cumber the earth very long," were fulfilled, we shall see shortly.

About this time also he wrote several epistles to his friends, wherein he so powerfully exhorted them to faithfulness and stedfastness, that thereby he hath procured to himself a name that will never die: as living still in the remembrance of thousands, though he has long gone the way of all flesh, having laid down his life in bonds for the testimony of Jesus, as will be said in its due place.

There is also a piece of a letter written about this time to the cavaliers, which whether done by E. Burrough, or by George Fox the younger, or by George Bishop, I cannot tell: but thus it speaks:

"The very same spirit of pride and oppression, and idolatry, is entered into them, (viz. your enemies) and now lives in them in as high a measure as ever it lived amongst you; and their iniquities are well nigh finished, and the Lord will one way or other correct and reprove them; and they shall be dealt with in like manner as they have dealt with you; for they were no more than a rod in the hand of the Lord for a season, and they must also be broken and cast into the fire; and whether the Lord may ever make use of you to reprove them, as he did of them to reprove you, this I determine not, but leave it to him who can do whatsoever he will, by what instrument he pleaseth. It is true, you have made many attempts to be revenged upon them, but you have not hitherto prospered; but could you be humbled, and come into the meek spirit of the Lord, then might you prosper; but hitherto the Lord has always defeated you, and bowed you down under a people as unworthy as others; but their time will come to an end. Submit therefore unto the will of the Lord in what is come to pass, and seek not vengeance to yourselves; and then the Lord will avenge your cause; for the iniquities of your adversaries are ripe. And Charles Stuart must either be converted to God, and ruled by him, or else he can never rightly rule for God in this nation; though this I be-

lieve, it is not impossible but that he may be a rod upon them who once smote him; and their oppressions and ambitions may receive a check through him."

Among several other eminent preachers, Stephen Crisp was now also become a public minister of the word of God; and it was about this time that he went to Scotland, to preach the gospel there, and to edify the churches with his gift.

G. Fox the younger, this year wrote an exhortation to the military officers, and the army: shewing them how they were departed from their first integrity, and fallen into pride and wántonness.

G. Fox the elder, about the tenth month was at Norwich, where a meeting being appointed, the mayor having got notice of it, intended to have given out a warrant to apprehend him, but he having heard of this, sent some of his friends to the mayor, to speak with him about it. And his answer was, that he feared such a meeting would cause tumults in the town. But being spoken to in a kind way, he behaved himself moderately, and a large peaceable meeting was kept; to which among others, several priests also came, and among these was one Townsend, who stood up and cried, Error, Blasphemy, &c.

G. Fox desired him not to burden himself with that which he could not make good. But he asserted it to be error and blasphemy, that G. Fox had said that people must wait upon God by his power and spirit, and feel his presence, when they did not speak words. On this G. Fox asked him whether the apostles and holy men of God did not hear God speak to them in their silence, before they spoke forth the Scripture, and before it was written? He replied "Yes," and confirmed it by saying plainly, that David and the prophets did so. Then G. Fox shewed the people how absurd it was, that Townsend had called such a practice error and blasphemy. This sopuzzled Townsend, that he said, "O, this is not that G. Fox I would speak with-al; but this is a subtle man." Now when some of the auditory called to the priest, and bade him prove the blasphemy and error with which he had charged G. Fox, he went away. And being afterwards spoken to by George Whitehead and Richard Hubberthorn, who were then also about Norwich, he was confounded and brought down.

The committee of safety being now in power, Edmund Ludlow continued to urge the restoring of the parliament: and general Monk, who commanded the army in Scotland, aiming at the restoration of the king, yet wrote to the speaker,

Lenthal, that he would act for the parliament, and so it was restored.

G. Fox the younger, wrote to this parliament a letter, wherein he told them, that their day was turned into darkness; and that the sun was gone down over them. Yea, that the decree was gone out, and sealed against them, and it could not be recalled: with many other remarkable expressions. He had written at other times to the army, and the parliament, as did also Richard Hubberthorn, which, to avoid prolixity, I pass by.

Let us now again take a view of the persecution in New England. I have already made mention of Lawrence and Cassandra Southick, and their son Josiah, of whom more is to be said hereafter; but first I will speak of Daniel and Provided, son and daughter of the said Lawrence and Cassandra. These children seeing how unreasonably their honest parents and brother were dealt with, were so far from being deterred thereby, that they rather felt themselves encouraged to follow their steps, and not to frequent the assemblies of such a persecuting generation: for which absence they were fined ten pounds, though it was well known they had no estate, their parents being already brought to poverty by their rapacious persecutors. To get this money, the following order was issued in the general court at Boston.

"Whereas Daniel Southick, and Provid
Southick, son and daughter of Lawrence Sou
ick, absenting themselves from the pub
ordinances, have been fined by the courts
Salem and Ipswich, pretending they have
estates, and resolving not to work: the co
upon perusal of a law, which was made up
the account of debts, in answer to what shou
be done for the satisfaction of the fines, resolv
that the treasurers of the several counties a
and shall be fully impowered to sell the s
persons to any of the English nation, at Virgin
or Barbadoes, to answer the said fines, &c.

"Edward Rawson, Secretary."

The subject of this order was answer
effectually at large in print, by G. Bishop, w
shewed the unreasonableness of this work ve
plainly from sacred writ, as from Amos ii.
where the judgments of God are denounc
against those who sold the righteous for silv
and the poor for a pair of shoes; and fro
Levit. xxv. 42, where the making the childr
of Israel bondmen, is expressly forbidden; t
being not lawful, but in the case of theft, if t
thief had nothing to make satisfaction wi
But to return to Daniel and Provided, th
wanted nothing but the execution of the
order against them. Wherefore Edmund
ter, one of the treasurers, to get someth

the booty, sought out for passage, to send them to Barbadoes for sale; but none were willing to take or carry them: and a certain master of a ship, to put the thing off, pretended, that they would spoil all the ship's company. To which Butter returned, "No, you need not fear that, for they are poor harmless creatures, and will not hurt any body." "Will they not so," replied the shipmaster: "and will you offer to make slaves of such harmless creatures?" Thus Butter, maugre his wicked intention, the winter being at hand, sent them home again, to shift for themselves, till he could get a convenient opportunity to send them away.

It happened also in this year, that a girl, about eleven years old, named Patience Scot, whose religious mother had been cruelly whipped by these people, bore witness against their wicked persecution, which so incensed the persecutors, that they sent her to prison; and the child having been examined, spoke so well to the purpose, that she confounded her enemies; some of whom confessed, that they had many children, who had been well educated, and that it were well if they could say half so much for God, as she could for the Devil. But this child not being of years to be obnoxious to the law, how wicked soever they were, it seems they could not resolve to proceed to banishment, as they *did with others.*

All that hitherto I have said of the New Engl persecution, is but cursorily, and only a v small part of those manifold whippings were inflicted there; besides the extorti of fines, which were exorbitant to a high deci as may appear by what was done to Will Maston, at Hampton, who was fined ten pou for two books found in his house, five pou for not frequenting their church, and th pounds besides, as a due to the priest: and not being free in conscience to pay this had taken from him what amounted to m than twenty pounds. I find also, that not l after this time, above a thousand pounds extorted from some only because they had se rated themselves from the persecuting chur and it seems they were deemed such as w shut out from the protection of the law; in much that Thomas Prince, governor of Plymo did not stick to say, that in his conscience Quakers were such a people, that deserve be destroyed, they, their wives, and child their houses and lands, without pity, or me I find also that one Humphrey Norton at N haven, for being a Quaker, was whipped sev ly, and burnt in the hand with the letter H signify heretick.

This cruelty of the English, did also stir the Dutch to persecution: for without enq *ing what kind* of people the Quakers w

seemed ready to conclude them to be men
nicious opinions, since those of their own
n, who pretended to more purity than
Protestants, did so severely persecute

happened that one Robert Hodshone,
in the Dutch plantation at Hamstead, had
eting with some of his friends that were
sh, and lived there; but as he was walking
orchard, an officer came and took hold of
and brought him before one Gilhersleave,
nglishman, and a magistrate there, who
nitted him to prison, and rode to the Dutch
nor to acquaint him therewith: and com-
ack with a guard of musketeers, the fiscal
hed the prisoner, and took away his knife,
s and bible, and pinioned him, and kept
so all night, and the next day. And mak-
nquiry after those that entertained him, he
into custody two women on that occasion,
f which had two small children, the one yet
ng at her breast. Then they got a cart
arried the women away in it, and Robert
astened to the hinder part of the cart, pin-
, and so drawn through the woods in the
, season, whereby he was much torn and
d. And being come to New Amsterdam,
New York, he was loosed, and led by the
with which he had been fastened to the
to the dungeon, being a filthy place, full

of vermin; and the two women were carried another place. Some time after he was exa ined, there being one captain Willet of P mouth, who had much incensed the gover against him, who before had been modera The conclusion was, that a sentence was r in Dutch to Robert, to this effect, that he to work two years at the wheelbarrow wit negro, or pay, or cause to be paid, six hund guilders. To this he attempted to make defence in a sober way, but was not suffered speak, and sent to the dungeon again; wh no English were suffered to come to him. Af some days he was taken out, and pinioned, a being set with his face towards the court cha ber, his hat was taken off, and another senter read to him in Dutch, which he did not und stand: but that it displeased many of t nation, did appear by the shaking of their hea Then he was cast again into the dungeon, wh he was kept some days.

At length, betimes in a morning, he was hal out, and chained to a wheelbarrow, and co manded to work: to which he answered, was never brought up, nor used to such a wo Upon which they made a negro to take a pit ed rope, nigh four inches about, and to b him; who did so, till Robert fell down. Th they took him up again, and caused the neg to beat him with the said rope, until he f

down the second time, and it was believed that he received about one hundred blows. Thus he was kept all that day in the heat of the sun, chained to the wheelbarrow; and his body being much bruised and swelled with the blows, and he kept without food, grew very faint, and sat upon the ground, with his mind retired to the Lord, and resigned to his will, whereby he felt himself supported. At night he was locked up again in the dungeon, and the next morning he was chained again to the wheelbarrow, and a centinel set over him, that none might come so much as to speak with him. On the third day he was had forth, and chained in like manner; and no wonder that he still refused to work, for besides the unreasonableness of requiring such a servile work of him who had committed no evil, he was not in a condition to perform it, being made altogether unable by the cruel blows given him. In this weak state he was brought before the governor, who demanded him to work, otherwise, he said, he should be whipped every day. Robert asked him, what law he had broken? And called for his accusers, that he might know his transgression. But instead of an answer, he was chained to the wheelbarrow again, and threatened, that if he spake to any one, he should be punished worse. Yet he did not forbear to speak to *some that came to him,* so as he saw meet, and

thought convenient. Then seeing they
not keep him silent, they put him into the
geon again, and kept him close there s
days, and two nights ; one day and a hal
without bread or water.

After this, he was brought very early
morning, into a private room, and stripp
the waist, and hung up by his hands,
great log of wood tied to his feet, so t
could not turn his body; and then a
negro was set to whip him with rods, wh
many stripes upon him, which cut his flesh
much. Then he was let down again, a
into the dungeon as before, and none suffe
come to him. Two days after he was ha
again, and hung up as before, and many
stripes were laid upon him by another
He almost fainting, and not knowing b
life might be taken away, desired that
English might be suffered to come to
which was granted, and an English woman
and washed his stripes, finding him b
so low, that she thought he would not li
the next morning. And she telling this
husband, it made such an impression upo
that he went to the fiscal, and proffered
fat ox, to suffer Robert to be at his hous
he was well again. But the fiscal woul
permit this, unless the whole fine was
And though there were some that would

ingly have paid the fine for him, yet he could not consent to it; but within three days after he had thus been whipped, he was made whole, and as strong as before, and was free to labour, that he might not be burthensome to any. Some others of those called Quakers, (who came thither from the plantations in New England to enjoy liberty of conscience, and whose names and sufferings I pass by for brevity's sake) met also with hard measure from the governor, by the instigation of the aforesaid captain Willet. Robert now though guiltless, being kept like a slave to hard work, it raised compassion in many, and the governor's sister. who was much affected with his sufferings, became instrumental in obtaining his liberty; for she so plied her brother, that he at length set him free without paying one penny, or any body for him; by which the governor shewed, that though he had been too easily wrought upon to commit evil, yet he was not come near to that height of malice, as the New England persecutors, who increased in their hard heartedness, and became inured to cruelty: insomuch that if any one amongst them would not give his vote for persecution, he was counted unworthy to be a magistrate: as appears by a letter of one James Cudworth, written some time before to one of his friends in Old England, wherein I meet with these words:

"As for the state and condition of thi amongst us, it is sad: the antichristian per cuting spirit is very active, and that in t powers of this world. He that will not wh and lash, persecute, and punish men that diff in matters of religion, must not sit on the bench nor sustain any office in the commonwealth Last election Mr. Hatherly and myself left th bench, and myself was discharged of my cap tainship, because I had entertained some of th Quakers at my house, that thereby I might b the better acquainted with their principles. thought it better to do so, than with the blin world to censure, condemn, rail at, and revil them, when they neither saw their persons, no knew any thing of their principles. But th Quakers and myself cannot close in diver things; and so I signified to the court I wa no Quaker, but must give my testimony again sundry things that they held, as I had occasio and opportunity. But withal, I told them, tha as I was no Quaker, so I would be no perse cutor."

Now shall I enter upon the narrative of the putting some to death, who died martyrs; fo this was yet wanting to complete the tragedy which it seems could not be done to the satis faction of the actors, without playing a murder ing *part.*

The two first that sealed their testimony with their blood, were William Robinson, merchant of London and Marmaduke Stevenson, a countryman of Yorkshire. These coming to Boston in the beginning of September, were sent for by the court of assistants, and there sentenced to banishment on pain of death. This sentence was passed also on Mary Dyar, mentioned heretofore, and Nicholas Davis, who were both at Boston. But William Robinson, being looked upon as a teacher, was also condemned to be whipped severely: and the constable was commanded to get an able man to do it. Then Robinson was brought into the street, and there stripped; and having his hands put through the holes of the carriage of a great gun, where the jailor held him, the executioner gave him twenty stripes with a three-fold cord whip. When he and the other prisoners were shortly released, and banished; which that it was for other reason but their being Quakers, may pear by the following warrant.

You are required by these, presently to set berty William Robinson, Marmaduke Steon, Mary Dyar, and Nicholas Davis, who order of the court and council, had been soned, because it appeared by their own sion, words, and actions, that they are rs; *wherefore* a sentence was pronounced

against them, to depart this jurisdiction on p
of death, and that they must answer it at th
peril, if they, or any of them, after the 14th
this present month September, are found wit
this jurisdiction, or any part thereof.

"Edward Rawson.'

Boston, September 12, 1659.

Now though Mary Dyar and Nicholas D
left that jurisdiction for that time, yet Robin
and Stevenson, though they departed the t
of Boston, could not yet resolve (not being
in mind) to depart that jurisdiction, tho
their lives were at stake. And so they v
to Salem, and some place thereabout to v
and build up their friends in the faith. Bu
was not long before they were taken, and
again into prison at Boston, and chains loc
to their right legs. In the next month M
Dyar returned also. And as she stood be
the prison, speaking with one Christo
Holder, who was come thither to inquire f
ship bound for England, whether he inter
to go, she was also taken into custody. T
they had now three persons, who accordin
their sanguinary law, had forfeited their li
And on the 20th of October, these three v
brought into the court, where John Endicot
others were assembled. And being calle
the bar, Endicot commanded the keeper to

off their hats; and then said, that they had made several laws to keep the Quakers from amongst them; and neither whipping, nor imprisoning, nor cutting off ears, nor banishing upon pain of death, would keep them from amongst them. And further he said, that he or they desired not the death of any of them. Yet notwithstanding, his following words, without more ado, were, "Give ear, and hearken to your sentence of death." W. Robinson then desired that he might be permitted to read a paper, giving an account of the reason why he had not departed that jurisdiction. But Endicot would not suffer it to be read, and said in a rage, "You shall not read it, nor will the court hear it read." Then Robinson laid it on the table. He had written this paper the day before, and some of the contents were, that he being in Rhode Island, the Lord had commanded him to go to Boston, and to lay down his life here. That he also had felt an assurance that is soul was to enter into everlasting peace, and ternal rest. That he durst not but obey, without inquiring farther concerning it; believing at it became him as a child, to shew obedience the Lord without any unwillingness. That is was the cause, why after banishment on in of death, he staid in their jurisdiction: and t now with sincerity of heart he could say, *ssed be the Lord,* the God of my life, who



hath called me hereunto, and counted
thy to testify against wicked and u
&c. This paper being handed to E
read it to himself, and after he had d
to Robinson, "You need not keep su
have it read; for you spoke yesterd
than here is written." Yet this was
for it contained a circumstantial relati
divine operations on his own mind; an
was not come there in his own will
obedience to his Creator: and that tra
Rhode Island, on the eighth of the eigh
he had been moved thereto from the I
therefore he submitted to his divine
without murmuring. W. Robinson
again that the paper might be read, th
that were present might hear it, it w
him, and Endicot said, "W. Robinson
to your sentence of death; you shal
back to the place from whence you c
from thence to the place of executio
hanged on the gallows till you are dead
sentence was not altogether unexpect
Robinson; for it was four months no
had believed this would be his share.

Robinson being taken away, M S
was called, and Endicot said to him,
have any thing to say you may spe
knowing how they had dealt with his co
was silent, though he had also written

a paper, containing the cause of his having come there; but he kept it with him, and found afterwards occasion to deliver it to somebody. Then Endicot pronounced sentence of death against him, saying, "M. Stevenson, you shall be had to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the gallows and there be hanged till you are dead." Whereupon M. Stevenson spoke thus: "Give ear ye magistrates, and all who are guilty; for this the Lord hath said concerning you, and will perform his word upon you, that the same day ye put his servants to death, shall the day of your visitation pass over your heads, and you shall be cursed for evermore. The mouth of the Lord hath spoken it. Therefore in love to you all, I exhort you to take warning before it be too late, that so the curse may be removed. For assuredly if you put us to death, you will bring innocent blood upon your own heads, and swift destruction will come upon you." After he had spoken this, he was taken away and Mary Dyar was called: to whom Endicot spake thus: "Mary Dyar, you shall go to the place from whence you came (to wit the prison) from thence to the place of execution, and be hanged there until you are dead." To which she replied, "The will of the Lord be done," Endicot said, "Take her away, marshall." to which she returned, "Yea, joyfully I go." *in her going to* the prison, she often uttered



speeches of praises to the Lord; and, bein joy, she said to the marshall, he might alone, for she would go to the prison with To which he answered, "I believe y Dyar; but I must do what I am comm Thus she was led to prison, where she v a week with her other two companio were also condemned to die.

The paper of Marmaduke Stevenson, ı ed before, which he gave forth after received sentence of death, was thus:

"In the beginning of the year 1655, the plough, in the east parts of Yorks Old England, near the place where my being was, and as I was walking after th I was filled with the love and presenc living God, which did ravish my hear felt it; for it did increase and aboun like a living stream, so did the love ar God run through me like a precious (giving a pleasant smell, which made me still; and as I stood a little still with ı and mind stayed on the Lord, the wor Lord came to me in a still small voice, did hear perfectly, saying to me, in tl of my heart and conscience,—I have thee a prophet to the nations.—And at ing of the word of the Lord, I was ı *stand, because that* I was but a child fc

weighty matter. So at the time appointed, Barbadoes was set before me, unto which I was required of the Lord to go, and leave my dear and loving wife and tender children; for the Lord said unto me immediately by his spirit, that he would be as a husband to my wife and as a father to my children, and that they should not want in my absence, for he would provide for them when I was gone. And I believed that the Lord would perform what he had spoken, because I was made willing to give myself up to his work and service, to leave all and follow him, whose presence and life is with me, where I rest in peace and quietness of spirit (with my dear brother) under the shadow of his wings, who hath made us willing to lay down our lives for his own name's sake, if unmerciful men be suffered to take them from us; and if they do, we know we shall have peace and rest with the Lord for ever in his holy habitation, when they shall have torment night and day. So in obedience to the living God, I made preparation to pass to Barbadoes, in the fourth month 1658. So after I had been some time in the said island in the service of God, I heard that New England had made a law to put the servants of the living God to death, if they returned, after they were sentenced away, which did come near me at that time; and as I considered *the thing,* and pondered it in my heart,

tely came the word of the Lord unto
g,—Thou knowest not but that thou
) thither.—But I kept this word in my
nd did not declare it to any until the
pointed. So after that a vessel was
ıdy for Rhode Island, which I passed
ıfter a little time that I had been there,
:he seed which the Lord hath blessed,
of the Lord came unto me, saying,—
)ston with thy brother William Robin-
ıd at his command I was obedient, and
myself to do his will, that so his work
ice might be accomplished; for he had
) me, that he had a great work for me
which is now come to pass: and for
obedience to, and obeying the voice of
-living God, who made heaven and
ıd the fountains of waters, do I, with
r brother, suffer outward bonds near
th. And this is given forth to be upon
hat all people may know, who hear it,
came not in our own wills, but in the
iod. Given forth by me who am known
y the name of

"Marmaduke Stevenson."

But have a new name given me, which the world knows not of, written in the Book of Life.

ı Boston prison,
th month, 1659.

Mary Dyar being sent back to prison, wrote the following letter, which she sent to the rulers of Boston.

To the General Court of Boston.

"Whereas I am by many charged with the guiltiness of my own blood; if you mean in my coming to Boston, I am therein clear, and justified by the Lord, in whose will I came, and who will require my blood of you, be sure, who have made a law to take away the lives of the innocent servants of God, if they come amongst you, who are called by you cursed Quakers; although I say and am a living witness for them and the Lord, that he hath blessed them, and sent them unto you; therefore be not found fighters against God, but let my counsel and request be accepted with you, to repeal all such laws, that the truth and servants of the Lord may have free passage among you, and you be kept from shedding innocent blood, which I know there are many among you would not do if they knew it so to be; nor can the enemy that stirreth you up thus to destroy the holy seed, in any measure countervail the great damage that you will by thus doing procure. Therefore seeing the Lord hath not hid it from me, it lieth upon me in love to your souls, thus to persuade *you. I have no* selfish ends the Lord

knoweth, for if my life were freely granted by you, it would not avail me, nor could I expect it from you, so long as I should daily hear or see the sufferings of these people, my dear brethren and the seed, with whom my life is bound up, as it has been these two years; and now it is like to increase, even unto death, for no evil doing, but coming among you. Was the like ever heard of amongst a people that profess Christ come in the flesh? and have such no other laws to fight against spiritual wickedness withal, as you call it? Woe is me for you! Of whom take ye counsel? Search with the light of Christ in you, and it will shew you of whom, as it hath done me and many more who have been disobedient and deceived, as now ye are: which light as you come into, and obeying what is made manifest to you therein, you will not repent that ye were kept from shedding blood, though it were by a woman. It is not mine own life I seek, (for I choose rather to suffer with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of Egypt) but the life of the seed, which I know that the Lord hath blessed, and therefore seeks the enemy thus vehemently to destroy the life thereof, as in all ages he ever did. O hearken unto him, I beseech you, for the seed's sake, which is one in all, and is dear in the sight of God, which they that *touch, touch* the apple of his eye, and cannot

escape his wrath; whereof I having felt, cannot but persuade all men that I have to do withal, especially you who name the name of Christ to depart from such iniquity, as shedding blood, even of the saints of the Most High. Therefore let my request have as much acceptance with you if you be Christians, as Esther's had with Ahasuerus, whose relation is short of that that's between Christians; and my request is the same as her's was: and he said not that he had made a law, and that it would be dishonourable for him to revoke it: but when he understood that those people were so prized by her, and so nearly concerned her, as in truth these are by me, you may see what he did for her. Therefore I leave these lines with you, appealing to the true and faithful witness of God, which is one in all consciences, before whom we must all appear; with whom I shall eternally rest, in everlasting joy and peace, whether you will hear or forbear. With him is my reward, with whom to live is my joy, and to die is my gain, though I had not had your forty eight hours warning, for the preparation of the death of Mary Dyar.

"And know this also, that if through the enmity you shall declare yourselves worse than Ahasuerus, and confirm your law, though it were but by taking away the life of one of us, that the Lord will overthrow both your law and *you, by his righteous* judgments and plagues

poured justly upon you, who now whilst ye are warned thereof, and tenderly sought unto, may avoid the one, by removing the other. If you neither hear, nor obey the Lord nor his servants, yet will he send more of his servants among you, so that your end shall be frustrated, that think to restrain them ye call cursed Quakers, from coming among you by any thing you can do to them. Yea, verily, he hath a seed here among you, for whom we have suffered all this while, and yet suffer; whom the Lord of the harvest will send forth more labourers to gather, out of the mouths of the devourers of all sorts, into his fold, where he will lead them into fresh pastures, even the paths of righteousness, for his name's sake. Oh, let none of you put this good day far from you, which verily in the light of the Lord I see approaching, even to many in and about Boston, which is the bitterest and darkest professing place, and so to continue so long as you have done, that ever I heard of. Let the time past therefore suffice, for such a profession as brings forth such fruits as these laws are. In love and in the spirit of meekness I again beseech you, for I have no enmity to the persons of any; but you shall know, that God will not be mocked; but what ye sow, that shall ye reap from him, that will render to every one accord-

ing to the deeds done in the body, whether good or evil. Even so be it, saith

"Mary Dyar."

A copy of this was given to the general court after Mary Dyar had received sentence of death, about the 8th or 9th month, 1659.

The day appointed to execute the bloody sentence, was the 27th of October, when in the afternoon the condemned prisoners were led to the gallows by marshal Michaelson, and captain James Oliver, with a band of about two hundred armed men, besides many horsemen; as if they were afraid that some of the people would have rescued the prisoners: and that no actors on the stage might be wanting, the priest Wilson joined the company, and when the court deliberated how to deal with the Quakers, said "Hang them, or else," (drawing his finger athwart his throat) as if he would have said, "Dispatch 'em this way." Now the march began, and a drummer going next before the condemned, the drums were beaten, especially when any of them attempted to speak. Glorious signs of heavenly joy and gladness were beheld in the countenances of these three persons, who walked hand in hand, Mary being the middlemost, which made the marshall say to her, who was pretty aged, and stricken in years, Are you *not ashamed* to walk thus hand in

hand between two young men?" "No," replied she, "this is to me an hour of the greatest joy I could enjoy in this world. No eye can see, nor ear can hear, no tongue can utter, and no heart can understand, the sweet incomes, or influence, and the refreshings of the Spirit of the Lord which I now feel." Thus going along, W. Robinson said, "This is your hour, and the power of darkness." But presently the drums were beaten; yet shortly after, the drums leaving off beating, Marmaduke Stevenson said, "This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you." More he spoke, but could not be understood, by reason of the drums being beaten again yet they went on with great cheerfulness, as going to an everlasting wedding feast, and rejoicing that the Lord hath counted them worthy to suffer death for his name's sake.

When they were come near the gallows, the priest said in a taunting way to W. Robinson, "Shall such jacks as you come in before authority with your hats on?" To which Robinson, replied, "Mind you, mind you, it is for not putting off the hat we are put to death!" Now being come to the ladder, they took leave of each other with tender embraces, and then Robinson went cheerfully up the ladder, and being got up, said to the people, "This is the day of your visitation, wherein the Lord hath visited you: this is the day the Lord is risen in his



power, to be avenged on all his adver-
He also signified, that he suffered not
vil doer; and desired the spectators, to
he light that was in them; to wit, the
f Christ, of which he testified, and was
ing to seal it with his blood. This so
d the envious priest, that he said, "Hold
ıgue, be silent; thou art going to die
lie in thy mouth." The rope being now
ıis neck, the executioner bound his hands
s, and tied his neckcloth about his face;
ıeing done, Robinson said, "Now ye are
ıanifest;" and the executioner being
ırning him off, he said, "I suffer for
ı whom I live, and for whom I die."
g turned off, Marmaduke Stevenson
he ladder, and said, "Be it known unto
y, that we suffer not as evil doers, but
ence sake." And when the hangman
to turn him off, he said, "This day
e at rest with the Lord:" and so he
l off.

ar seeing her companions hanging
her, also stept up the ladder; but
ats were tied about her feet, the
bout her neck, and her face covered
kerchief, which the priest Wilson
man, just as she was to be turned
s heard, "Stop for she is reprieved
et then being loosed, they bade

down. But she, whose mind was
s it were in heaven, stood still, and said,
there willing to suffer as her brethren
ess they would annul their law. Little
as given to what she said, but they pull-
down, and the marshall and others taking
the arms, carried her to prison again.
she thus was freed of the gallows this
was at the intercession of her son, to
m it seems they could not then resolve to
y that favour. She now having heard why
was reprieved, wrote the next day, being
e 28th of October, the following letter to the
ourt.

The 28th of the 8th month, 1659.

"Once more to the general court assemble
in Boston, speaks Mary Dyar, even as befor
My life is not accepted, neither availeth n
in comparison of the lives and liberty of
truth and servants of the living God, for wh
in the bowels of love and meekness I so
you: yet, nevertheless, with wicked hands
you put two of them to death, which mak
to feel, that the mercies of the wicked is c
I rather choose to die than to live, as fro
as guilty of their innocent blood: th
seeing my request is hindered, I leav
righteous Judge, and searcher of

ıo, with the pure measure of light he hath ren to every man to profit withal, will in his e time let you see whose servants you are, d of whom you have taken counsel, which lesire you to search into: but all his counsel th been slighted, and you would none of his proofs. Read your portion, Prov. i. 24 to . For verily the night cometh on you apace, ıerein no man can work, in which you shall suredly fall to your own master. In obedi- ce to the Lord, whom I serve with my spirit, d pity to your souls, which you neither know pity, I can do no less than once more warn ı, to put away the evil of your doings; and ı the son, the light in you, before his wrath kindled in you; for where it is, nothing ıout you can help or deliver you out of his l at all; and if these things be not so, then there hath been no prophet from the Lord amongst you; though we be nothing, yet his pleasure, by things that are not, to to nought things that are.

ıen I heard your last order read, it was a bance unto me, that was so freely offering life to him that gave it me, and sent her so to do, which obedience being his ork, he gloriously accompanied with his ce, and peace, and love in me, in which d from my labour: till by your order *people, I was* so far disturbed, that I

could not retain any more of the words thereof, than that I should return to prison, and there remain forty and eight hours; to which I submitted, finding nothing from the Lord to the contrary, that I may know what his pleasure and counsel is concerning me, on whom I wait therefore, for he is my life, and the length of my days; and as I said before, I came at his command, and go at his command.

"Mary Dyar."

The magistrates now perceiving that the putting William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson to death, caused great discontent among the people, resolved to send away Mary Dyar, thereby to calm their minds a little. And so she was put on horseback, and by four horsemen conveyed fifteen miles towords Rhode Island, where she was left with a horse and a man, to be conveyed the rest of the way; which she soon sent back, and so repaired home. By the style of her letters, and her undaunted carriage, it appears that she had indeed some extraordinary qualities; I find also, that she was of a comely and grave countenance, of a good family and estate, and a mother of several children: but her husband it seems was of another persuasion.

Whilst I now leave her at home, I am to say *that one John* Chamberlain, an inhabitant of

Boston, having seen the execution of W. Robinson, and M. Stevenson, was so reached by their pious speeches, that he received the doctrine of the truth, for which they died: but his visiting those in prison was so ill resented, that afterwards he was whipped several times severely; as was also Edward Wharton, an inhabitant of Salem; who having said, that the guilt of Robinson's and Stevenson's blood was so great and heavy, that he was not able to bear it, was, for this his pretended sauciness, whipped with twenty lashes, and fined twenty pounds.

But before I quite leave the persons that were hanged, I must say, that being dead, their countenances still looked fresh; (for the terror of death had not seized them.) But being cut down, they were barbarously used, none taking hold of their bodies; which so fell down on the ground, that thereby the skull of W. Robinson was broken: and even their shirts were ript off with a knife, and their naked bodies cast into a hole which was digged, without any covering. And when some of their friends would have laid their bodies into coffins, it was denied them. Neither would they suffer the place where the bodies were cast, to be fenced with pales, lest ravenous beasts might prey upon them.

When the people returned from the execution, many seemed sad and heavy; and coming

to the drawbridge, one end of it fell upo
and several were hurt, especially a
woman, who had reviled the said two
at their death; but now she was so l
that her flesh rotted from her bones,
made such a noisome stink, that people
not endure to be with her: in which mis
condition she remained till she died. B
magistrates, instead of taking notice of
grew more hardened; and priest Wilso
not stick to make a ballad on the executed

Now I return again to Mary Dyar,
being come to Rhode Island, went from th
to Long Island, where she staid the most
of the winter: and then coming home ag
she was moved to return to the bloody tow
Boston, whither she came on the 21st of
third month, in the year 1660, and on the
she was sent for by the general court. B
come, the governor John Endicot said, "
you the same Mary Dyar that was here
fore?" And it seems he was preparing
evasion for her, there having been anothe
that name returned from Old England.
she was so far from disguising, that she
swered undauntedly, "I am the same M
Dyar that was here the last general cou
Then Endicot said, "You will own yourse
Quaker, will you not? To which Mary D
said, "I own myself to be reproachfully ca

' Then the jailor, (who would also say
ıething) said, "She is a vagabond." And
dicot said, the sentence was passed upon her
last general court, and now likewise; "You
st return to the prison, and there remain
to-morrow at nine o'clock; then from thence
ı must go to the gallows, and there be hang-
till you are dead." To which Mary Dyar
d, "This is no more than what thou saidst
ore." And Endicot returned, "But now it
o be executed; therefore prepare yourself
morrow at nine o'clock." She then spoke
ı: "I came in obedience to the will of God
last general court, desiring you to repeal
unrighteous laws of banishment on pain
ıath; and that same is my work now, and
st request; although I told you, that if
efused to repeal them, the Lord would
others of his servants to witness against
' Hereupon Endicot asked her, whether
s a prophetess? And she answered, she
he words that the Lord spoke in her;
w the thing was come to pass. And
ıg to speak of her call, Endicot cried,
with her, away with her." So she
ught to the prison-house where she
e, and kept close shut up until the

the appointed time the marshal Ma-

chaelson came, and called her to come ha
and coming into the room where she wa
desired him to stay a little; and spe
mildly, said, she should be ready pres
But he being of a rough temper, said, he
not wait upon her, but she should now
upon him. One Margaret Smith, her comp
being grieved to see such hard-hearte
spoke something against their unjust law
proceedings: to which he said, "You
have your share of the same." Then
Dyar was brought forth, and with a ba
soldiers led through the town, the drums
beaten before, and behind her, and so c
ued, that none might hear her speak a
way to the place of execution, which was
a mile. With this guard she came to th
lows, and being gone up the ladder, som
to her, that if she would return, she might
down and save her life. To which she re
"Nay, I cannot, for in obedience to the
the Lord I came, and in his will I abide fa
to death." Then Captain John Webb
that she had been there before, and ha
sentence of banishment upon pain of
and had broken the law in coming again
and therefore she was guilty of her own
To which she returned, "Nay, I came to
blood-guiltiness from you, desiring yo
peal the unrighteous and unjust law of

ment upon pain of death, made against the innocent servants of the Lord; therefore my blood will be required at your hands, who wilfully do it; but for those that do it in the simplicity of their hearts, I desire the Lord to forgive them. I came to do the will of my Father, and in obedience to his will, I stand even to death." Then priest Wilson said, "Mary Dyar, O repent, O repent, and be not so deluded, and carried away by the deceit of the devil." To this Mary Dyar answered, "Nay, man, I am not now to repent." And being asked by some, whether she would have the elders pray for her, she said, "I know never an elder here." Being further asked, whether she would have any of the people to pray for her? She answered, she desired the prayers of all the people of God. Thereupon some scoffingly said, "It may be she thinks there is none here." She looking about, said, "I know but few here." Then they spoke to her again, that one of the elders might pray for her. To which she replied, "Nay, first a child, then a young man, then a strong man before an elder in Christ Jesus. After this she was charged with something which was not understood what it was, but she seemed to hear it; for she said, It's false it's false; I never spoke those words." Then one mentioned, that *she should* have said, she had be

in paradise. To which she answered I have been in paradise several days. more she spoke of the eternal happi which she was now to enter. In this posed condition she was now turned died a martyr of Christ, being twic death, which the first time she expec undaunted courage, and now suffer Christian fortitude.

Thus this honest valiant woman fini days: but so hardened were these per that one of the court said scoffingly, ' hang as a flag for others to take an by." And putting to death for religion yet cease, as will be related hereafter: I will take a turn again to Old Englan there was now a great division, and re in the state.

About the beginning of this year, rough wrote the following letter to th ment, which then had the power again hands:

"Friends,

"All these overturnings, and almost ful changings, were effected through th of the Lord's hand. You are now agai stern of government, and on the throne dare not but say it is of and by the L

that he hath done it contrary to the expectations of many; and what his end is in it, remains with him. But I am sure one cause is, that you may execute part of his wrath upon that treacherous generation of hypocritical and deceitful men, some of the army I mean. I need not say to you, how that many of them were raised up from a low estate; and, instead of serving the nation, became their lords and oppressors: they have abused the Lord's mercy to them, and exalted themselves, and become as great oppressors, and as grievous to the nation, as ever they were that went before them; and some of them took the very titles and estates of their enemies, and followed their evil spirit also, though the Lord was long suffering to them, and gave them a day; and put opportunity into their hands, wherein they might have done good; but they also neglected to serve God and the nation, to serve themselves; and because of the ambition and pride of some of them, the Lord suffered them to make this last interruption upon you, which was great treachery in man's account, that thereby their measure might be filled up, and that he might give you occasion against them, and suffer you to be filled with indignation towards them, to break them to pieces: and what you do to some of them in casting them out, and

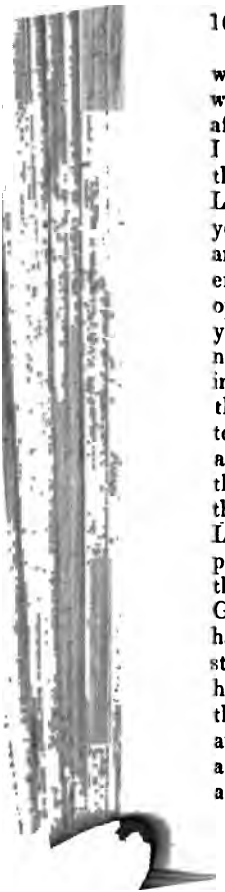


afflicting them, you are but God's
tioners therein; you are the executi
his anger, in what you do to them;
shall prevent you, or forbid you to go
they have long enough dissembled
nation, in professing more than others, a
less: and their downfal is now.
hath looked upon you to be hardhea
cruel enough, and very fit executioner
geance upon such men, as I have men

"But now concerning you, and you
state, as you are in present place and
have something to say to you; tho
are fallen, and you yet stand, and yo
little time after them; but this I say
glory over their fall, neither glory a
you should stand for ever; for they
greater sinners than you are, neither
one whit more righteous than some
but you are as sure to fall, as they a
with no less measure of dishonour and
than is come upon them: and you are
last hour; and I dare not say, that Go
much more from you, than for the en
said, viz. to be the executioners of jus
men as sinful as yourselves: so do n
over them that are fallen; but know
time also is short, and your fall may
your destruction, and theirs may prov

them better, and refine them: and if God hath chosen you to execute some part of his wrath upon them, for their wickedness, he will doubtless find instruments to execute some part of his wrath upon you else he will do it with his own hands; for he purposeth not to spare you; for your sins cry as loud as any other people's, and the oppressions are as great under you, as us under them whom you condemn. And I desire, if there be any good men amongst you, that such who are wise may consider and mind the hand of the Lord in and through all these things that are come to pass; for God is working as well as you, he is seeking to set up a kingdom as well as you, and his government and yours cannot stand together; and he will make you know that he is stronger, and his government of more force, and your kingdom cannot stand in its place with his.

"Therefore, Oh that you would take heed! Oh that you would be wise, if so be some of you may be spared! and be not too zealous in your way, nor too furious in your proceedings; do but do to others as you intend to receive from others, and from the Lord; and go not beyond your commission; for a permission at least you have had from God, even to scourge hypocrites, and to be a judgment upon that hypocritical, seemingly religious generation of men aforesaid; *which* have many a time as it



were mocked God, and pretended l
with their lips, when their hearts ha
after self-honour, and treasures of t
I say, your present hour and permis
this end, but not to persecute the pe
Lord, nor to destroy God's herita
you do persecute the innocent with
and make war against the Lamb and
ers, and make laws, and execute th
oppression of the saints of the Most
you go beyond your commission; fo
not called you unto this, but to be i
in another cause. And the childre
they trust in the living God and f
terror of mighty men, neither can the
at the roaring of the sea, nor at t
threatening of the heathen, for G
them. And I say unto you, the ser
Lord hath pondered and considered
proceedings, and viewed the prese
things at this day, and there is no v
God unto you of peace and comfor
happy and lasting government, as
stand: if any prophet shall divine thi
he speaks what he hath not from the
the vision of his own heart, and he de
and himself; for you are not establi
a right foundation, neither are you act
a right spirit, which can truly gover

but the spirit of wrath and fury is put unto you, for the work to which you are called. And I know not how to warn you, that you do not persecute the people of God: for why? It may be you must fill up your measure of wickedness thereby, that God may break you perpetually; yet the less will be your judgment, if you do it not: but and if you do it, the Lord will take occasion against you, to wound you, and you shall never be healed; and as you do afflict others, so and much more shall it be done unto you from the Lord.

"Wherefore consider what I have said; for this is the vision of the Almighty unto you, that shall not go unfulfilled: and what you do, you must do quickly; for your time is short and your power will God subdue; and his kingdom and power will he speedily exalt over your heads, and make you and the nations know that he is God, and that all power is with him, and that he can do whatsoever he will; and it is his right alone to reign, and his childrens' portion to possess the kingdom with him. Let the whole earth, and all the powers thereof bow and tremble before him: let not your hearts be stout and rebellious against him, for he can grind you to powder, and sink you into confusion and misery, as a stone into the sea."

This was directed for the hands of the spe
in parliament, and accordingly was g
to William Lenthal, being enclosed
him, with these lines following.

"Friend,

"The enclosed I do commend unto the
present to the house, and to endeavour sim
ly the reading of it in your assembly; for
of especial concernment to you all; and in
name of the Lord, and by his Spirit, I
charge thee not to be negligent in this ma
as though it were not of worth to you: a
do lay it upon you as a work of righteous
and truth, to be done by thee, as thou wil
swer the contrary at the dreadful day of
when the King of righteousness shall judge
and all mankind.

"E. Burrough

The 24th of the 11th month, 1659.

This parliament did so lord it, that a
fifteen hundred military officers were cashi
and others put into their places.

About this time George Fox the you
wrote a letter to the parliament and the a
which was as followeth:

"Your day into darkness is turned; the
gone down over you. You have had a

power given unto you, to have done
of God; but ye abused the power, and
your day; and ye have refused to do
l's work, and have sought to serve
es, and not the Lord; therefore in just-
righteousness, is the day wherein ye
ve wrought for God taken from you;
hick dark night of confusion is come
, wherein ye are groping and stumbling,
ot work; the decree is gone out, and
gainst you, and it cannot be recalled;
not the men (as ye stand) in whom God
ar to work deliverance for his people,
tures; (and yet deliverance shall come,
according to man's expectation.) But
u ye have rejected the counsel of the
d grieved his Spirit, and he hath long
ith you; yea, you are departed from
l, and his presence is departed from
leed he hath hewed with you (and if
been faithful to the end, he would have
l and prospered you, and would have
r sufficient reward) ye were his axe,
have boasted yourselves against him;
as ye have beaten, and hewed, and
for you have grievously provoked the
nd *if* he should now suffer that tree,
have cut to fall upon you, and to break
ou, *it* were just.

"O ye treacherous, wilful, proud, self-se
people, who have despised the counsel
Lord, and would not take warning, thou
hath sent his prophets and servants earl
late among you, some of whom ye hav
prisoned and despitefully used: what will
now? Whom will ye now flee unto for
seeing ye are departed from the Lord, an
rending and tearing, biting and devourin
another, for proud, ambitious, selfish
(mark) If you would now build again the
that you once destroyed, that shall not be
to hide or shelter you from the wrath
Lamb: that way whereby ye think to stre
en yourselves, thereby shall you make
selves much weaker, and help forward you
destruction; you are now but a rod, rem
your end which hastens greatly. Now b
upon breach, insurrection upon insurre
heaps upon heaps, division upon division
there be, until he come to reign, whose ri
is: and all nations must bow before him
he will break them with his iron rod.

"They that trust in or lean upon you for
it is as if they leaned upon a broken reed
is not able to help itself, nor others; i
you have been made to do many good t
but you would not go through with the
which God will have accomplished, and
fore are these things come upon you; the

tremble and dread before the Lord, ye who have been as strong oaks, and tall cedars, for now shall your strength fail you, and you shall be weak, even as the weakest of men; but if you would yet believe in the light, and truly submit to God's righteous judgments, many of you might come to witness your souls saved, in the day of the Lord; though many of your bodies are to be thrown by (because of your grievous backslidings) as not counted worthy to be the Lord's workmen.

"There is a small remnant yet amongst you (for whom my soul breathes) who may be winnowed out; and if they will own the judgments of the Lord, and truly and thoroughly deny themselves, and follow his leadings, he will heal their backslidings, and purge them, that so they may be instruments in his hand: but they that will continue in your sins, shall partake with you of your judgments.

"The rod of the wicked shall not always rest upon the back of the righteous; yet even as gold is tried, so shall they be that they may be made white, and without spot before the Lamb; but God will avenge their cause, and woe then will be to their oppressors; and then shall the majesty and the glory of the Lord fill his people (who have long been trodden under) and they *shall be* the dread of all nations, the

the zeal of the Lord of
this.

11th month, 1659 "George F

This letter being printed,
given to each parliament m
with his army came into Londo
the predictions contained the
those of E. Burrough, in the
came to be fulfilled, when ma
ones were hanged and quartered,
in the sequel.

General Monk came now; with
army he commanded, out of Scotl
land, and made great alteration
officers, putting in such as were be
no enemies to Charles Stuart; for
Monk said of his resolution to be
faithful to the parliament, and to p
interest of a commonwealth; yet it
ere long that he aimed at something el
he could do the easier, because he w
adherents in the parliament; though h
stick to say to Edmund Ludlow, "We
and die for, and with a commonwealt
to others he declared, that he would o
the utmost the setting up of Charles Stua
the meanwhile he so ordered it, that
members of the parliament, that had bee

excluded as unqualified, took session again in that assembly; and these brought it about, that sir George Booth, who was confined to the Tower, for having carried on a design for Charles Stuart, was set at liberty. Neither was the city of London in a condition to oppose Monk; for he caused the portcullisses, and doors of the city gates, and the posts to be pulled down; and the royalists were now become so bold, that they printed a list of the names of the judges that condemned king Charles the First to death; and some of them were secured, whilst others fled away. General Lambert was also sent to the Tower, and Monk, whose authority now increased, sent for the lords, who until the year 1648, had sate in parliament, and bade them return to the house where they formerly used to sit.

In these overturnings G. Fox came to London, to wit in the time when they were breaking the city gates. He then wrote a paper to those that were now sinking, and told them, that now the prophecies were fulfilling upon them, which had been spoken to them; and that they who used to call the Quakers fanatics, and giddy-heads, now seemed themselves giddy, and fugitives or wanderers.

From London G. Fox went to Sussex, and from thence to Dorsetshire. At Dorchester he had *a great meeting* in the evening at the inn



where he lodged, and there came many s
who were pretty civil. But the constabl
officers of the town came also under prete
look for a Jesuit, whose head, they sai
shaved. So they took off G. Fox's ha
not finding any bald place on his head,
went away with shame. This was of goo
vice among the soldiers and others,
affected the people, who were turned
Lord Jesus Christ.

Then he passed into Somersetshire,
his friends' meetings were often disturbed.
time there came a wicked man, who ha
bear's skin on his back, played ugly pra
the meeting; and setting himself oppos
the person that was preaching, lolled his
out of his mouth, and so made sport for his
ed followers, and caused great disturba
the meeting. But as he went back from
an eminent judgment overtook him; fo
being a bull baiting in the way, he staid
and coming within his reach, the bull
his horn under the man's chin, into his
and forced his tongue out of his mouth, s
it hung out in the same manner as bef
lolled it out in derision in the meeting: a
bull running his horn into the man's
swung him about in a most fearful manne

G. Fox travelling through Somerse
came into Devonshire, and so went into Co

till he came to the Land's End. Whilst he was in Cornwall, there were great shipwrecks about the Land's End. Now it was the custom of that country, that at such times both rich and poor went out to get as much of the wreck as they could, not caring to save the peoples lives; and this custom so prevailed, that in some parts of the country they called shipwrecks God's grace. This grieved G. Fox not a little, considering how far these professed Christians were below the heathen at Melita; who courteously received Paul, and the others that had suffered shipwreck with him and made him a fire. On this consideration he was moved to write a paper to the magistrates, priests, and others, both high and low; in which he shewed them, the wickedness of their deeds, and reproved them for such reedy actions, telling them how they were ady to fight one with another for the spoil, d spend what they got in taverns, or ale-houses, ting those that escaped drowning go a beg- g up and down the country. Therefore he ously exhorted them, to do unto others, t they would have done to themselves.

his paper he sent to all the parishes there- ts: and after having had many meetings in wall, and several eminent people being con- d of the truth preached by him, he went to l, where the meetings of his friends were *ingly disturbed* by the soldiers. Having

heard this he desired Georg
Gouldney, Thomas Speed, a
to go to the mayor and alder
them to let his friends have
meet in, provided it should not
when the mayor and aldermen
do in it; and that for this use t
twenty pounds a year, to be dis
the poor. These four persons w
at this proposal, and said, the may
men would think them mad; for t
the commander of the soldiers ha
together to make a disturbance in
ings. But G. Fox so encouraged t
last they consented to what he desir
come to the mayor, he was modera
expectation; and when they had laid
before him, he said, for his part, he
sent to it; but he was but one. So
him in a loving frame of mind; an
back, G. Fox desired them to go als
colonel that commanded the soldiers,
acquaint him of their rude carriage, a
they disturbed the meetings. But the af
four persons were backward to go to
Next morning being the first day of the
a meeting was kept in an orchard, where
people came; and after G. Fox had
preaching a pretty while, there came se
rude soldiers, some with drawn swords,

some drunk, and among these, one that had bound himself with an oath, to cut down, and kill the man that spoke. But when he came pressing in through the crowd, and was within two yards of G. Fox, he stopt at those four persons before mentioned, and fell a jangling with them; but at length his sword was put up again. The next day they went and spoke with the colonel, and he having heard how mischievous his soldiers had been, sent for them, and cut and slashed some of them. When this was told G. Fox, he blamed those his friends, thinking they might have prevented the cutting of the soldiers, if they had gone to the cólonel when he would have had them. Yet this had such effect, that the meeting there was kept without disturbance a good while after.

G. Fox then also had a general meeting at Edward Pyot's, near Bristol, at which were several thousands of people; and so many of Bristol, that some said, the city looked naked; and all was quiet.

But in other places about this time, things were not so quiet; for the soldiers under general Monk's command, were often very rude in disturbing of meetings. But when complaint was made to him, who was then at Westminster, he shewed, that he would not countenance such wickedness, and *did in* that respect better than

several other generals had done; for he gave forth the following order.

"St James's, March 9, 1659-60

"I do require all officers and soldiers, to forbear to disturb the peaceable meetings of the Quakers, they doing nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth of England.

"George Monk."

Monk having thus long declared for a commonwealth, and against a king, began now to take off the mask; for the old lords had now taken their places again in the House of Peers, out of which they had been kept so many years; and by the advice of Monk, Charles Stuart (who for several years had lived at Cologn, and, having made a voyage to Spain, was from thence come, by France to Brussels) repaired to Breda: and in England it being resolved upon to call him back, and to restore him, he gave forth the following declaration at Breda: thereby to persuade those that were yet backward, to acknowledge him.

"Charles R.

"Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all our loving subjects, of *what degree or* quality soever, greeting. If the

general distraction and confusion which is spread over the whole kingdom, doth not awaken all men to a desire and longing that those wounds which have for so many years together been kept bleeding, may be bound up, all we can say will be to no purpose. However, after this long silence, we have thought it our duty to declare, how much we desire to contribute thereunto: and that as we can never give over the hope, in good time to obtain the possession of that right which God and nature hath made our due; so we do make it our daily suit to the Divine Providence, that he will, in compassion to us and our subjects, after so long misery and sufferings, remit, and put us into a quiet and peaceable possession of that our right, with as little blood and damage to our people as is possible. Nor do we desire to enjoy more what is ours, than that all our subjects may enjoy what by law is theirs, by a full and entire administration of justice throughout the land, and by extending our mercy where it is wanted and desired.

"And to the end that the fear of punishment may not engage any, conscious to themselves of what is past, to a perseverance in guilt for the future; by opposing the quiet and happiness of their country, in the restoration both of king, peers, *and people, to* their just, ancient, and *fundamental rights;* we do by these presents

declare, that we do grant a free and general pardon, which we are ready upon demand to pass under our great seal of England, to all our subjects, of what degree or quality soever who within forty days after publishing hereof shall lay hold upon this our grace and favour; and shall by any public act declare their doing so, and that they return to the loyalty and obedience of good subjects; excepting only such persons as shall hereafter, be excepted by parliament. Those only excepted, let all our subjects, how faulty soever, rely upon the word of a king, solemnly given by this present declaration, that no crime whatsoever committed against us or our royal father, before the publication of this, shall ever rise in judgment, or be brought in question against any of them, to the least endamagement of them, either in their lives, liberties, or estates; or as far forth as lies in our power, so much as to the prejudice of their reputations, by any reproach, or term of distinction, from the rest of our best subjects; we desiring, and ordaining, that henceforth all notes of discord, separation, and difference of parties, be utterly abolished among all our subjects, whom we invite and conjure to a perfect union among themselves, under our protection; for the resettlement of our just rights, and theirs, in a free parliament by which, upon the word of a king, *we will be advised.*

"And because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion; by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite, in a freedom of conversation, will be composed, or better understood; we do declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted, or called in question, for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom; and that we shall be ready to consent to such an act of the parliament, as upon mature deliberation shall be offered to us for the full granting of that indulgence.

"And because in the continual distractions of so many years, and so many and great revolutions, many grants and purchases of estates, have been made to, and by, many officers, soldiers, and others, who are now possessed of the same, and who may be liable to actions at law upon several titles. We are likewise willing that all such differences, and all things relating to such grants, sales, and purchases, shall be determined in parliament; which can provide for the just satisfaction of all men who are concerned.

"And we do farther declare, that we will be ready to *consent to* any act, or acts of *parliament, to the purposes* aforesaid, and for the

full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers, and soldiers of the army, under the command of General Monk; and that they shall be received into our service, upon as good pay and conditions as they now enjoy.

> "Given under our sign manual and privy signet, at our court at Breda, this 14th day of April, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign."

The original of this declaration was sent to the House of Lords, and a duplicate in a letter to the House of Commons; and repeated and sent in a letter to general Monk, the council of state, and the officers of the army. Hereupon it was resolved by the parliament, to prepare an answer; and both in the House of Lords, and in the House of Commons, it was voted to proclaim king Charles at Whitehall, and in London, as lawful sovereign of his kingdoms, which was done on the eighth of the month called May.

Now the king, who by the Spaniards was invited to return to Brussels, and by the French to come to Calais, chose, at the pressing invitation of the States-general of the United Provinces, to go by Holland: and so he went, with the yachts of the States, to Rotterdam, *and from thence* with coaches to the Hague;

ere having staid some days, he took shipping Schevelinghen for England, and made his ry into London on the anniversary of his birth 7. Thus we see Charles the Second, (who not g after was crowned,) restored not by the ord, but by the marvellous hand of the Lord. About this time, G. Fox the younger came Harwich, where he was haled out of a meet-; and imprisoned under a pretence of having ised a tumult. But give to the reader rue sight of the matter, I must go back a le.

About four years before this time, some of e people called Quakers, being come into the d town, one of them spoke a few words by y of exhortation to the people that came m the steeple-house; and passing on, he l those with him went to an inn. The may-hearing thereof, sent to them, commanding at they should depart the town, which they l after a short space; but about night they urned, and lodged at their inn, and the next y passed away peaceably. Not long after, e woman that kept the inn, was commanded come before the magistrates; who threatened take away her licence, unless she promised lodge no more such persons. But how eager ever they were for keeping out the Quakers, t it proved ineffectual; for it seems some of ose *that had been* spoken to in the streets,

were so reached, that they came to be obedient to the inward teachings of the Lord they had been recommended to. And so a way was made for meetings there, whereby the number of those of that society began to increase. And because they could no longer comply with superstitious burials, they bought a piece of ground to bury their dead in, but met with great opposition at their burials; and once, when several came along to bury a corpse, it was by force taken from them, and set by the sea side, where having lain above ground part of two days and one night, it was privately covered by some with small stones.

In the month called May, G. Fox the younger came to Harwich, to preach the truth there. The mayor of the town, whose name was Miles Hubbard, having heard of this, stopped several that were going to the meeting. The rude multitude seeing it, grew insolent, and made a hideous noise before the house where the meeting was kept, and some were for pulling it down. G. Fox hearing the noise, whilst he was preaching, grew very zealous, and with a mighty power was made to say, "Woe, woe unto the rulers and teachers of this nation, who suffer such ungodliness as this, and do not seek to suppress it." Some that heard him thus speaking, went and told the magistrates of it, perhaps not in the self-same words as

red by him. The officers then com-
mayor commanded the constables to
aid G. Fox into custody; who hearing
, "If I have done any thing worthy
or bonds, I shall not refuse either;
re thee to shew me what law I have
ed; which thou oughtest to do, before
lest me to prison, that I may know
I am sent hither." But the mayor
he should know that afterward; and
carried to prison. Robert Grassing-
was shipwright of the admiralty in
being at the meeting, out of which
was haled, in love went freely along
to prison. This seemed to please
r, who some days before had been
say concerning Grassingham, "If I
get him out of the town, I should
t course to take with the other Qua-
me time after G. Fox was imprisoned,
s was sent to the jailor, in which the
was charged with causing a tumult in
gh, and disturbing the peace thereof.
imus was signed by Miles Hubbard
nthony Woolward, and Daniel Smith;
magistrates sent notice of what they
to the parliament, under a specious
that so they might not fall into dis-
The parliament receiving this informa-
d *forth the* following order.

"Monday, May 21, 1660.

"The house being informed, that two Quakers, that is to say, George Fox and Robert Grassingham, have lately made a disturbance at Harwich, and that the said George Fox, who pretends to be a preacher, did lately in his preaching there, speak words reflecting on the government and ministry, to the near causing of a mutiny, and is now committed by the mayor and the magistrates there:

"Ordered, that the said George Fox and Robert Grassingham be forthwith brought up in custody; and that the sheriff of the county of Essex do receive them, and give them his assistance for the conveying them up accordingly, and delivering them into the charge of the serjeant at arms tending this house.

"Ordered, that the thanks of this house be given to the mayor and magistrates of Harwich for their care in this business,

"William Jessop.
"Clerk of the Commons House of Parliament."

By this it appeared that the magistrates of Harwich had special friends in the parliament. R. Grassingham being at liberty, was gone to London; and when this order came to Harwich, G. Fox was delivered to the sheriff of Essex and his men: these went with him to London

the road they met Grassingham, who
g from London to Harwich, in pur-
an order which he had received from
ssioner of the admiralty and navy, for
ne of the king's frigates. But not-
ng Grassingham shewed his order to
, yet he brought him back to London
nd delivered them into the custody
jeant at arms attending the house,
itted them to Lambeth-house. They
en there about three weeks, wrote a
ie House of Commons, wherein they
account of the manner of their impri-
nd desired, that they with their accu-
be brought face to face before the
, saying, that if any thing could be
ainst them, worthy of punishment,
d not refuse it. But they thought it
just and unreasonable, that a man
haled out of a peaceable meeting,
to prison, without being examined,
eclaring against the cursing and the
s of the rude people, and against such
l such ungodliness, and did not seek
s it.

s the chief contents of their paper,
y enclosed in a letter to the speaker
se of Commons in these words.

For the speaker of the house of Commons,

"Friend,

"We desire thee to communicate this enclosed to the House of Commons, it being a few innocent, just, and reasonable words to them, though not in the eloquent language of man's wisdom, yet it is in the truth which is honourable.

"We are friends to righteousness and truth, and to all that are found therein,

"Robert Grassingham,
"George Fox."

But the speaker did not deliver the paper, under pretence that it was not directed with the ordinary title, "To the right honourable the House of Commons." Therefore by the help of their friends they got it printed, that so each member of parliament might have a copy of it. Now after they had lain about fourteen weeks in Lambeth gate-house without being examined, one of the members of parliament moved this business in the house: whereupon the following order was made.

Thursday, October 30 1660.

"Ordered that George Fox and Robert Grassingham, who by virtue of a former order

of this house were taken into custody by the serjeant at arms attending this house, for some disturbance at Harwich, be forthwith released, and set at liberty, upon bail first given to render themselves, when they shall be in that behalf required.

"William Jessop,
"Clerk of the House of Commons,"

Shortly after this order was issued forth, the sergeant at arms sent his clerk to demand fees and chamber rent of the prisoners, asking fifty pounds for fees, and ten shillings a week for chamber rent. But since no evil was laid to their charge, they could not resolve to satisfy this unreasonable demand, yet offered to pay two shillings and sixpence a week, though the chamber where they had lain, was the highest room in a lofty tower, and all the windows open, until they had gotten them glazed, without any charge to the sarjeant. Matters standing thus, their cause was referred to the king's privy council. But it lasted yet a good while before they were released; for several evasions were made use of to keep them in custody.

Whilst G. Fox was prisoner, he wrote a little book, which he called, "A Noble Salutation to king Charles Stuart," wherein he shewed him how matters had gone in England, viz. That his *father's party* scorned those that appear-

ed in arms against them because of their meanness; for they were tradesmen, ploughmen, servants, and the like; which contemptible instruments God made use of to bring down the loftiness of the others. But those of the parliament party growing from time to time successful, and prevailing, got into the possessions of those they conquered, and fell into the same pride and oppression which they cried out against in others; and many of them became greater oppressors and persecutors than the former had been. Moreover the author exhorted the king to observe the hand of the Lord in the restoring of him. "Therefore," said he "let no man deceive thee, by persuading thee that these things are thus brought to pass, because the kingdom was thy own proper right, and because it was witheld from thee contrary to all right; or because that those called royalists are much more righteous than those who are fallen under thee. For I plainly declare unto thee, that all the kingdoms of the earth are properly the Lord's And this know that it was the just hand of God in taking away the kingdom from thy father and thee, and giving it to others; and that it is also the just hand of the Lord to take it again from them, and bring them under thee; though I shall not say, but that some of them went beyond their commission against thy father when they were brought

as a rod over you; and well will it be for thee, if thou become not guilty of the same transgressions.

The author further exhorts the king to consider, that his station is not without danger, because of the changeableness of the people, a great part of whom were perfidious; since one while they had sworn for a king and parliament, and shortly after they swore against a king, single person, or House of Lords; and afterwards they again swore for a single person. Some time after they cried up a parliament again. And when O. Cromwell had turned out the parliament, and set up himself, then the priest prayed for him, and asserted his authority to be just: and when he died, they fawned upon his son Richard, and blasphemously termed his father the light of their eyes, and the breath of their nostrils; and they told him that God had left him to carry on that glorious work which his father had begun. Nay, some priests compared Oliver to Moses, and Richard to Joshua, who should carry them into the promised land. Thus they would continually flatter those at the helm. For when George Booth made a rising, and they thought there would be a turn, then some of the priests cried out against the parliament, and cursed such as would not go against them. But when Booth was taken, then

many began to petition the parliament, and to excuse themselves, that they had no hand in that rising.

Next the author set forth the wickedness of the people by excessive drinking and drunkenness, thereby as it were to shew their loyalty to the king: and he relates also, how having preached at Harwich, against the grievous wickedness of the people, he was haled to prison in the king's name. Finally he exhorts the king to take heed of seeking revenge; and to shew mercy.

This paper, which was not a small one, for it took up several sheets, was delivered in writing by Richard Hubberthorn, into the king's hand at Whitehall, and was not long after by the author published in print.

Now one of the most eminent royalists drew up divers queries to the Quakers, desiring them to answer them, and to direct their answer with this superscription, "*Tradite hanc amico Regis.*" that is, "Deliver this to the king's friend". For it was clearly seen, that several of their predictions came to be fulfilled, of which those of Edward Burrough were not the least. And therefore some (as it seems) thought that by *the* Quakers they might get some knowledge *whether* any stability of the king's government *was to be* expected. By the queries it appeared, *that the* author of them was a man of under-

standing, and of some moderation also; and I am not without thoughts that Edward earl of Clarendon, and high chancellor, may have been the penman thereof. The chief tendency of these queries was to know from the Quakers, what their judgment was concerning the king's right to the crown; and whether they ever did foresee his return; and also whether they could judge that his reign and government should be blessed or not. Moreover, whether he might justly forgive, or avenge himself, and whether he might allow liberty of conscience to all sorts of people, &c. Edward Burrough answered these queries, and published his answer in print. It was directed to the king and the royalists. In it he shewed that in some of their writings it had been signified, that they had some expectation of the king's restoration. That the king's coming to the throne was reasonable and equitable, because through the purpose of the Lord. That his reign and government might be blessed or not blessed, according to his carriage. And that he might justly forgive his, and his father's enemies; for though he and his father might have been injured; yet forasmuch as they had applied to the sword to determine their controversy with the nation, the sword went *against* them; and by that whereby they *thought to* stand, they did fall; and who then *should they* blame for that which befel them

seeing the sword, which they themselves did choose, destroyed them. However the author signified, that this was not meant of the king's death; that being quite another case. And if such who had destroyed kingly government in name and title, and pretended to govern better, and did not make reformation, but became oppressors, having broken their promises, came to be punished on that account, with death, or otherwise, such could not be said to suffer for a good conscience, nor for righteousness' sake; but it was because they were oppressors; and suffering for that cause could not be called persecution. "But none of us (thus ran Edward Burrough's words) can suffer for that cause, as not being guilty thereof. If we suffer under your government, it is for the name of Christ; because nothing can be charged against us in this capacity as we now stand, and in this state into which we are now gathered and changed, not in any matter of action or rebellion against the king, nor his father; nor in any thing but concerning the law and worship of our God, and the matters of his kingdom, and our pure consciences. And if any that are now amongst us were any ways engaged in the parliament service in the wars, it was not in rebellion against the king or his father, as that we sought their destruction as men; but upon sober and *reasonable* principles, and not for corrupt ends,

nor to get honour and riches to ourselves, as some others might do, who went into the war for selfish ends, and continued in action, after the cause which was once engaged for was utterly lost. And that principle, which for some time led some into action to oppose oppression, and to seek after reformation, that principle is still justified, though we are now better informed than once we were. For though we do now more than ever oppose oppression, and seek after reformation, yet we do it not in the way of outward warring and fighting with carnal weapons and swords! and you and the king ought to put a difference between such as for some time acted in the wars against you, upon sober and reasonable principles, and that did not make themselves rich and high in the world through your sufferings, and between such as have acted against you for selfish ends, and have insulted over you, and have made themselves rich and great in this world, through your afflictions and sufferings." To the query, whether the great afflictions sustained by the king divers years, from subjects of his own nation, and the guilt thereof, did lie upon the subjects in general; or whether upon any, or some particular sorts of people, who were such more than others; E. Burrough made this answer, "So far as his sufferings were unjust, the guilt thereof doth lie upon all the subjects in general, but upon

some more than others: and such are easy to be distinguished from others, if it be considered who they are that raised the war in this nation against the king, and who first preached and prayed up the war, and prosecuted it against the king's father, and who cast out the bishops and prelates from their places, and took their revenues and benefices, and are become men as corrupted, as covetous and self-seeking, as proud and ambitious, as unjust persecutors, as ever the men were which they cast out: and who is it that hath gotten great estates in the nation, and worldly honour and raised themselves from nothing, by the wars and by your sufferings; and who got the estates and titles of their enemies, and pretended to free them from all oppressions, but have not done it; but have continued the old oppressions, and have been striving among themselves who should rule, and who should be great? And as for us, who are called Quakers, we are clear from the guilt of all the king's sufferings. We have not cast out others, and taken their places of great benefices, neither have we made war with carnal weapons against any, never since we were a people. Neither have we broken oaths and engagements, nor promised freedom and deliverance, and for selfish ends and earthly riches betrayed, as others have done what we have pretended to. And in many particulars it doth appear, that we

re clear from his sufferings, for we have been
suffering people as well as they, by the same
pirit which caused them to suffer, which hath
een much more cruel, wicked, and unjust to-
ards us, than it hath been towards them
hough our persecution hath been in another,
anner. But what they have done against us
e can freely forgive them, and would have you
to follow the same example. And if you could
accuse them in many things, so could we: but
this is not a time to accuse one another, but to
forgive one another, and so to overcome your
enemies. When they had gotten the victory,
they did not reform, but became oppressors,
as well as others, that would not do and say as
they: and for this cause the Lord hath brought
them down, and may justly suffer others to
deal with them as they have dealt with others.
Yet notwithstanding I must still say, and it is
my judgment, that there was very great oppres-
sion and vexation under the government of the
late king and bishops under his power, which
the Lord was offended with, and many good
people oppressed by; for which cause the Lord
might and did justly raise up some to oppose,
and strive against oppression, and injustice, and
to press after reformation in all things. And
that principle of sincerity, which in some things
carried them on in opposing oppressions and
pressing *after reformation* I can never deny, but

acknowledge it: though many soon lost it, and became self-seekers, forgetting the cause pretended to,"

This is but a small part of the queries, and the answers thereunto, which E. Burrough concluded with a bold exhortation to the king, to fear and reverence the Lord.

Now we return again to G. Fox the elder, whom we left about Bristol; from whence he passed to Gloucester, Worcester, Drayton (the place of his nativity) and Yorkshire. In that country at that time a yearly meeting was kept at Balby, in an orchard, where some thousands of people were met together. At York, about thirty miles off notice being given of this meeting, a troop of horse came from thence; and when G. Fox stood preaching in the meeting on a stool, two trumpeters came riding up, sounding their trumpets, pretty near him: and then the captain bid him come down, for he was come (he said) to disperse the meeting. G. Fox then speaking, told him, he knew they were peaceable people: but if he did question that they met in an hostile manner, he might make search among them; and if he found either sword or pistol about any there, such might suffer. But the captain told G. Fox, he *must see them* dispersed, for he came all night

ıe them. G. Fox asked
would be to him to ride
ols amongst so many un-
en? But if he would be
ıeting probably might not
r three hours: and when
came peaceably, so they
might perceive, the meet-
ll the country thereabouts
m, but that they intended
ir homes at night. But
uld not stay so long. G.
at if he himself could not
ng ended, he would let a
tay. To this the captain
them an hour's time; so
stay there, and then went
ıe being gone, the soldiers
ıe that were met together,
ght, if they would. This
parted about three hours
urbance. But if the sol-
a temper as their captain,
ould not have ended thus
ı desperate man, having
Scotland, that he would
nmand; and if it were to
uld do it; or execute the
ds against the Christians,

Now G. Fox went to Skipton, where there was a general meeting concerning the affairs of the church. For many of his friends suffered much, and their goods being taken from them, and some brought to poverty, there was a necessity to provide for them. This meeting had stood several years; for when the justices and captains came to break it up, and saw the books and accounts of collections for relief of the poor, and how care was taken that one county should help another, and provide for the poor, they commended such practice, and passed away in love. Sometimes there would come two hundred poor people, belonging to other societies, and wait there till the meeting was done: and then the friends would send to the baker's for bread, and give every one of these people a loaf, how many soever there were: for they were taught to do good unto all, though especially to the household of faith.

From hence G. Fox went to Lancaster, and so to Swarthmore, where he was apprehended at the house of Margaret Fell, who was now a widow, judge Thomas Fell, her husband, having been deceased about two years before. Now some imagined they had done a remarkable act; for one said, he did not think a thousand men could have taken G. Fox. They led him away to Ulverstone, where he was kept all night at *the constable's* house, and a guard of fifteen or

men were set to watch him; some of
ate in the chimney, for fear he should
he funnel. Next morning he was car-
Lancaster, but exceedingly abused by
; and being come to town, was brought
ouse of a justice, whose name was Henry
and who had granted the warrant against
He asked Porter, for what, and by whose
e had sent forth his warrant; and he
ied to him of the abuse of the consta-
l other officers: for they had set him
horse behind the saddle, so that he had
to hold by; and maliciously beating
e, made him kick and gallop, and throw
rider. But Porter would not take any
' that, and told G. Fox, he had an order;
ld not let him see it, for he would not
he king's secrets. After many words
changed, he was carried to Lancaster
Being there a close prisoner in the
jail, he desired two of his friends, one
was Thomas Green, the other Thomas
gs, a minister of the gospel, (with whom
ery familiarly acquainted,) to go to the
id desire of him a copy of his mittimus.
ent, but the jailor told them, he could
a copy of it; yet he gave it them to
id to the best of their remembrance,
ters therein charged against him were,
Fox was a person generally suspected

to be a common disturber of the peace of the nation, an enemy to the king, and a chief upholder of the Quaker's sect: and that he, together with others of his fanatic opinion, had of late, endeavoured to raise insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. Wherefore the jailer was commanded to keep him in safe custody, till he should be released by order from the king and parliament. No wonder that the jailor would not give a copy of this mittimus, for it contained almost as many untruths as words. G. Fox then wrote an apology, wherein he answered at large all those false accusations. And Margaret Fell, considering what injury was offered to her, by haling G. Fox out of her house, wrote the following information and sent it abroad.

To all magistrates, concerning the wrong taking up, and imprisoning of George Fox at Lancaster.

"I do inform the governors of this nation, that Henry Porter, mayor of Lancaster, sent a warrant with four constables to my house, for which he had no authority nor order. They searched my house, and apprehended George Fox in it, who was not guilty of the breach of *any law, or of* any offence against any in the

nation. After they had taken him, and brought him before the said Henry Porter, there was bail offered, what he would demand for his appearance, to answer what could be laid to his charge: but he (contrary to law, if he had taken him lawfully) denied to accept of any bail; and committed him to close prison. After he was in prison, a copy of his mittimus was demanded, which ought not to be denied to any prisoner, that so he may see what is laid to his charge; but it was denied him; a copy he could not have; only they were suffered to read it over. And every thing that was there charged against him, was utterly false; he was not guilty of any one charge in it, as will be proved, and manifested to the nation. So, let the governors consider of it. I am concerned in this thing, inasmuch as he was apprehended in my house; and if he be guilty, I am so too. So I desire to have this searched out.

"Margaret Fell."

After this, Margaret determined to go to London, to speak with the king about this matter; which Porter having heard of, said he would go too; and so he did. But because he had been a zealous man for the parliament against the king, several of the courtiers put him in mind of his plundering their houses. And *this so troubled* him, that he quickly left

the court, and returned home, and then spoke to the jailor about contriving a way to release G. Fox. But in his mittimus he had overshot himself, by ordering, G. Fox to be kept prisoner, till he should be delivered by the king, or parliament. G. Fox also sent him a letter, and put him in mind, how fierce he had been against the king, and his party, though now he would be thought zealous for the king. And among other passages, he called to his remembrance, how, when he held Lancaster Castle for the parliament sgainst the king, he was so rough and fierce against those that favoured the king, that he said, he would leave them neither dog nor cat, if they did not bring him in provision to his castle.

One Anne Curtis coming to see G. Fox, and understanding how he stood committed, resolved also to go to the king about it; for her father who had been sheriff of Bristol, was hanged near his own door, for endeavouring to bring in the king; upon which consideration, she was in hopes to be admitted to the king's presence to speak with him. Coming to London, she and Margaret Fell went together to the king, who, when he understood whose daughter Anne was, received her kindly. She having acquainted the king with she case of G. Fox, desired, that he would be pleased to send for him up, and *hear the cause* himself. This the king promised

her he would do, and commanded his secretary to send down an order for the bringing up G. Fox. But it was long before this order was executed, for many evasions were sought, as well by carping at a word as by other craft; whereby the sending up of G. Fox was retarded above two months. He thus continuing prisoner, wrote several papers, and among the rest this.

To the King.

"King Charles,

"Thou camest not into this nation by sword, nor by victory of war; but by the power of the Lord: now if thou dost not live in it, thou wilt not prosper. And if the Lord hath shewed thee mercy, and forgiven thee, and thou dost not shew mercy and forgive, the Lord God will not hear thy prayers, nor them that pray for thee: and if thou do not stop persecution, and persecutors, and take away all laws that do hold up about persecution about religion; but if thou do persist in them, and uphold persecution, that will make thee as blind as them that have gone before thee: for persecution hath always blinded those that have gone into it; and such God by his power overthrows, and doth his valiant acts upon; and bringeth salvation to his oppressed ones: and if thou dost bear the *sword in* vain, and let drunkenness,

oaths, plays, may-games, (with fidlers, drums, trumpets, to play at them) with such like abomination and vanities be encouraged, or go unpunished; as setting up of maypoles, with the image of the crown a-top of them, &c. the nations will quickly turn like Sodom and Gomorrah, and be as bad as the old world, who grieved the Lord till he overthrew them: and so he will you, if these things be not suddenly prevented. Hardly was there so much wickedness at liberty before now, as here is at this day; as though there was no terror, nor sword of magistracy; which doth not grace a government, nor is a praise to them that do well. Our prayers are for them that are in authority, that under them we may live a godly life, in which we have peace; and that we may not be brought into ungodliness by them. So hear, and consider, and do good in thy time, whilst thou hast power; and be merciful and forgive, that is the way to overcome, and obtain the kingdom of Christ.

"G. F."

The sheriff of Lancaster still refused to remove G. Fox, unless he would become bound, and pay for the sealing of the writing, and the charge of carrying him up. But this he would not. Then they consulting how to convey him, it was at first proposed to send a party of horse

with him. But he told them, if he were such a man as they had represented him to be, they had need to send a troop or two of horse to guard him. But considering that this would be a great charge to them, they concluded to send him up guarded only by the jailor, and some bailiffs. On farther consideration, they found that this also would be very chargeable, and thereupon told him, if he would put in bail, that he would be in London such a day of the term, he should have leave to go up with some of his own friends. G. Fox told them, he would neither put in any bail, nor give any money: but if they would let him go up with one or two of his friends, he would go up, and be in London such a day, if the Lord did permit. So at last when they saw they could not make him bow, the sheriff consented that he should go up with some of his friends, without any other engagement than his word, to appear before the judges in London such a day of the term, if the Lord did permit. Whereupon they let him go out of prison, and after some stay, he went with Richard Hubberthorn and Robert Withers to London, whither he came on a day that some of the judges of king Charles the First, were hanged and quartered at Charring Cross: for now what E. Burrough and others had plainly foretold, was fulfilled on them.

The *next morning* G. Fox, and those with

him went to judge Thomas Mallet's chamber, who then was putting on his red gown, to sit upon some more of the king's judges, and therefore told him, he might come at another time. G. Fox did so, being accompanied by——Marsh, esq. one of the king's bed-chamber. When he came to the judge's chamber, he found there also the lord chief justice Foster, and delivered to them the charge that was against him: but when they read those words, that he and his friends were embroiling the nation in blood, &c. G. Fox told them, that he was the man whom that charge was against, but that he was as innocent of any such thing, as a new born child; that he brought it up himself, and that some of his friends came up with him, without any guard. As yet the judges had not minded G. Fox's hat, but now seeing his hat on, they said, why did he stand with his hat on? He told them, he did not stand in any contempt to them. Then they commanded one to take it off; and having called for the marshal of the King's Bench, they said to him, "You must take this man and secure him, but you must let him have a chamber and not put him amongst the prisoners." But the Marshal said, his house was so full, that he could not tell where to provide a room for him, but amongst the prisoners. Judge Foster then said to G. Fox, "Will you appear to-morrow about ten o'clock at the

s Bench Bar in Westminster Hall?" "Yes," ıe, "if the Lord give me strength." Here- the said judge said to the other judge, "If y yes, and promises it, ye may take his "

he was dismissed for that time, and the day appeared at the king's Bench Bar at ɔur appointed, being accompanied by Rich- [ubberthorn, Robert Withers, and esquire h, before named. And being brought into ıiddle of the court, he looked about, and ıg to the people, said, "Peace be among

Then the charge against him was read, ɔoming to that part which said, that he ıis friends were embroiling the nation in , and raising a new war, and that he was emy to the king, &c. those of the bench up their hands. He then stretching out ms, said, "I am the man whom that charge ıinst; but I am as innocent as a child con- ıg the charge, and have never learned any ɔostures. Do ye think, that if I and my ls had been such men as the charge declares, would have brought it up myself against f? Or that I should have been suffered to up with only one or two of my friends me? For had I been such a man as this e sets forth, I had need to have been led up with a troop or two of horse: but heriff *and magistrates* of Lancashire had

thought fit to let me and my friends come up by ourselves, almost two hundred miles, without any guard at all, which we may be sure they would not have done, if they had looked upon me to be such a man." Then the judge asked him, whether it should be filed, or what he would do with it? And he answered; "Ye are judges, and able, I hope, to judge in this matter; therefore do with it what ye will." The judges said, they did not accuse him, for they had nothing against him. Whereupon esquire Marsh stood up and told the judges, it was the king's pleasure, that G. Fox should be set at liberty, seeing no accuser came against him. Then they asked him, whither he would put it to the king and council? He answered, "Yes, with a good will," Thereupon they sent the sheriff's return, which he made to the writ of *habeas corpus*, to the king, and the return was thus:

"By virtue of his Majesty's writ to me directed, and hereunto annexed, I certify, that before the receipt of the said writ, George Fox, in the said writ mentioned, was committed to his majesty's jail, at the castle of Lancaster, in my custody, by a warrant from Henry Porter, esq. one of his majesty's justices of the peace within the county palatine aforesaid, bearing date the fifth of June now last past; for that he, *the said* George Fox, was generally suspect-

ed to be a common disturber of the peace of this nation, an enemy to our sovereign lord the king, and a chief upholder of the Quakers' sect; and that he, together with others of his fanatic opinion, have of late endeavoured to make insurrections in these parts of the country, and to embroil the whole kingdom in blood. And this is the cause of his taking and detaining. Nevertheless, the body of the said George Fox I have ready before Thomas Mallet, knight, one of his majesty's justices, assigned to hold pleas before the said majesty, at his chamber in Serjeants Inn, in Fleet Street, to do and receive those things which his majesty's said justice shall determine concerning him in his behalf, as by the aforesaid writ is required.

"George Chetham, esq. sheriff."

The king upon perusal of this, and consideration of the whole matter, being satisfied of G. Fox's innocency, commanded his secretary to send the following order to judge Mallet for his release:

"It is his majesty's pleasure, that you give order for the releasing and setting at full liberty, the person of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and commanded hither by an *habeas corpus*. And this signification of his

majesty's pleasure shall be your sufficient warrant. Dated at Whitehall, the 24th of October, 1660.

"Edward Nicholas."

For sir Thomas Mallet, knight,
one of the justices of the
King's Bench.

When this order was delivered to judge Mallet, he forthwith sent his warrant to the marshal of the King's Bench, for G. Fox's release; which warrant was thus;

"By virtue of a warrant which this morning I have received from the right honourable sir Edward Nicholas, knight, one of his majesty's principal secretaries, for the releasing and setting at liberty of George Fox, late a prisoner in Lancaster jail, and from thence brought hither by *habeas corpus*, and yesterday committed unto your custody; I do hereby require you accordingly to release, and set the said prisoner, George Fox, at liberty; for which this shall be your warrant and discharge. Given under my hand the 25th day of October, in the year of our Lord God, 1660

"Thomas Mallet."

To sir John Lenthal, knight,
marshal of the King's
Bench, or his deputy.

G. Fox having been a prisoner now above twenty weeks, was thus very honourably set at liberty by the king's command. After it was known he was discharged, several that were envious and wicked, were troubled, and terror seized on justice Porter: for he was afraid G. Fox would take the advantage of the law against him for his wrong imprisonment, and thereby undo him: and indeed G. Fox was advised by some in authority, to have made him and the rest examples. But he said, he should leave them to the Lord; if the Lord did forgive them he should not trouble himself with them.

About this time Richard Hubberthorn got an opportunity to speak with the king, and to have a long discourse with him, which soon after he published in print. Being admitted into the king's presence, he gave him a relation of the state of his friends, and said,

"Since the Lord hath called us, and gathered us to be a people, to walk in his fear, and in his truth, we have always suffered, and been persecuted by the powers that have ruled, and been made a prey of, for departing from iniquity; and when the breach of no just law could be charged against us, then they made laws on purpose to ensnare us; and so our sufferings were unjustly continued."

King. It is true, those that have ruled over you, have been cruel and have professed much which they have not done.

R. H. And likewise the same sufferings do now abound in more cruelty against us in many parts of this nation: as for instance one at Thetford in Norfolk, where Henry Fell (ministring unto the people) was taken out of the meeting and whipped, and sent out of the town, from parish to parish, towards Lancashire; and the chief ground of his accusation in his pass (which was shewn to the king) was, because he refused to take the oath of allegiance and supremacy; and so because that for conscience sake we cannot swear, but have learned obedience to the doctrine of Christ, which saith, "Swear not at all;" hereby an occasion is taken against us to persecute us; and it is well known that we have not sworn for any, nor against any, but have kept to the truth, and our yea hath been yea, and our nay, nay, in all things, which is more than the oath of those who are out of the truth.

King. But why cannot you swear? for an oath is a common thing amongst men to any engagement.

R. H. Yes, it is manifest, and we have seen it by experience; and it is so common amongst men to swear, and engage either for, or against *things, that* there is no regard taken to them,

nor fear of an oath; that therefore which w speak of in the truth of our hearts, is more tha what they swear.

King. But can you promise before the Lord, which is the substance of an oath?

R. H. Yes, what we do affirm, we can promise before the Lord, and take him to our witness in it: but our so promising hath not been accepted, but the ceremony of an oath they have stood for, without which all other things were accounted of no effect.

King. But how may we know from your words that you will perform?

R. H. By proving us; for they that swear are not known to be faithful, but by proving them; and so we by those that have tried us, are found to be truer in our promises, than others by their oaths; and to those that do yet prove us, we shall appear the same.

King. Pray what is your principle?

R. H. Our principle is this, "That Jesus Christ is the true light that enlighteneth every one that cometh into the world, that all men hrough him might believe;" and that they were o obey and follow this light as they have re- ived it, whereby they may be led unto God, d unto righteousness, and the knowledge of truth, that they may be saved.

King. This do all Christians confess to be th; *and he is not* a Christian that will deny it

R. H. But many have denied it both in words and writings, and opposed us in it: and above an hundred books are put forth in opposition to this principle.

Then some of the Lords standing by the king said, that none would deny that every one is enlightened.

Lord. And one of the Lords asked, how long we had been called Quakers, or did we own that name?

R. H. That name was given us in scorn and derision, about twelve years since: but there were some that lived in this truth before we had that name given us.

King. How long is it since you owned this judgment and way?

R. H. It is near twelve years since I owned this truth, according to the manifestation of it.

King. Do you own the sacrament?

R. H. As for the word sacrament, I do not read of it in the Scripture; but as for the body and blood of Christ I own, and that there is no remission without blood.

King. Well that is it: but do you not believe that every one is commanded to receive it?

R. H. This we do believe, that according as it is written in the Scripture, that Christ at his last supper took bread and brake it, and gave to his disciples, and also took the cup and *blessed it,* and said unto them, "And as often

as ye do this, (that is as often as they brake bread) you shew forth the Lord's death till he come;" and this we believe they did; "and they did eat their bread in singleness of heart from house to house;" and Christ did come again to them according to his promise; after which they said, "We being many are one bread, for we are all partakers of this one bread."

King's friend. Then one of the king's friends said, It is true; for as many grains make one bread, so they being many members, were one body.

Another of them said, If they be the bread, then they must be broken.

R. H. There is a difference between that bread which he brake at his last supper, wherein they were to shew forth, as in a sign, his death until he came; and this whereof they spake, they being many, are one bread; for herein they were come more into the substance, and to speak more mystically, as they knew it in the spirit.

King's friends. Then they said, it is true, and he had spoken nothing but truth.

King. How know you that you are inspired by the Lord?

R. H. According as we read in the Scriptures, that "The inspiration of the Almighty giveth *understanding*;" so by his inspiration is

an understanding given us of the things
Lord. Then one of the Lords said,
you know that you are led by the true
R. H. This we know, because the
truth reproves the world of sin, and b
were reproved of sin, and also are led fi
unto righteousness, and obedience of tr
which effects we know it is the true spi
the spirit of the wicked one doth not le
such things.
King and Lords. Then the king
lords said, it was truth.
King. Well, of this you may be a
that you shall none of you suffer fo
opinions or religion, so long as you live
ably, and you have the word of a king
and I have also given forth a declaration
same purpose, that none shall wrong
abuse you.
King. How do you own magistrates
gistracy?
R. H. Thus we do own magistrates
ever is set up by God, whether king as su
or any set in authority by him, who are
punishment of evil doers, and the praise o
that do well, such we shall submit un
assist in righteous and civil things, b
body and estate: and if any magistrates
which is unrighteous, we must declare
it; only submit under it by a patient suf

and not rebel against any by insurrections, plots, and contrivances.

King. Then the king said, that is enough.

Lord. Then one of the lords asked, why do you meet together, seeing every one of you have the church in yourselves?

R. H. According as it is written in the Scriptures, the church is in God, Thes. i. 1. "And they that feared the Lord, did meet often together in the fear of the Lord," and to us it is profitable, and herein we are edified and strengthened in the life of truth.

King. How did you first come to believe the Scriptures were truth?

R. H. I have believed the Scriptures from a child, to be a declaration of truth, when I had but a literal knowledge, natural education and tradition; but now I know the Scriptures to be true, by the manifestation and operation of the Spirit of God fulfilling them in me.

King. In what manner do you meet, and what is the order in your meetings?

R. H. We do meet in the same order as the people of God did, waiting upon him; and if any have a word of exhortation from the Lord, he may speak it; or if any have a word of reproof or admonition, and as every one hath received the gift, so they may minister one unto another, and may be edified one by another,

whereby a growth into the knowledge of the truth is administered to one another.

One of the Lords. Then you know not so much as you may know, but there is a growth then to be admitted of.

R. H. Yes we do grow daily into the knowledge of the truth, in our exercise and obedience to it.

King. Are any of your friends gone to Rome?

R. H. Yes, there is one in prison in Rome.

King. Why did you send him thither?

R. H. We did not send him thither, but he found something upon his spirit from the Lord, whereby he was called to go to declare against superstition and idolatry, which is contrary to the will of God.

King's friend said. There were two of them at Rome, but one was dead.

King. Have any of your friends been with the great Turk?

R. H. Some of our friends have been in that country.

Other things were spoken concerning the liberty of the servants of the Lord, who were called of him into his service, that to them there was no limitation to parishes or places, but as the Lord did guide them in his work and service by his spirit.

So the king promised that we should not in any ways suffer for our opinion or religion, and so in love passed away.

The king having promised Richard Hubberthorn over and again, that his friends should not suffer for their opinion, or religion, they parted in love. But though the king seemed a good-natured prince, yet he was so misled, that in process of time he seemed to have forgotten what he so solemly promised on the word of a king.

Now in this discourse mention being made of Rome, &c. I'll say by the by, that one John Perrot, and John Love being come to Leghorn in Italy, and having been examined there by the inquisition, they answered so well that they were dismissed. Being come afterwards to Venice, Perrot was admitted to the doge, or duke, in his palace, spoke with him, and gave him some books; and from thence he went with his fellow traveller to Rome. Here they bore testimony against the idolatry committed there, in such a public manner, that they were taken into custody. John Love died in the prison of the inquisition; and though it was divulged, that he had fasted to death, yet some nuns have told, that he was dispatched in the night, for fear he *should annoy* the church of Rome.

However it was, he died in sincerity of heart and so was more happy than Perrot, who though then perhaps he was in a pretty good frame of mind, yet afterwards turned an eminent apostate, having continued prisoner at Rome a great while, and at length got his liberty: he was a man of great natural parts, but not continuing in true humility, ran out into exorbitant imaginations, of which more may be said hereafter. About this time Samuel Fisher and John Stubbs were also at Rome, where they spoke with some of the cardinals, and testified against the popish superstition. They also spread some books amongst the friars, some of whom confessed the contents thereof to be truth: but said they, if we should acknowledge this publicly, we might expect to be burnt for it. Notwithstanding Fisher and Stubbs went free, and returned unmolested.

The case of Mary Fisher, a maiden, and one of the first Quakers (so called) that came into New England (as hath been mentioned before) I cannot pass by in silence. She being come to Smyrna, to go from thence to Adrianople, was stopped by the English consul, and sent back to Venice, from whence she came by another way to Adrianople, at the time that sultan Mahomet the fourth was encamped with his army near the said town. She went alone *to the camp*, and got somebody to go to the

of the grand vizier, to tell him that an
ish woman was come, who had something
clare from the great God to the sultan.
vizier sent word that next morning he
ld procure her an opportunity for that
ose. Then she returned to the town, and
ired next morning to the camp again, where
y come, she was brought before the sultan,
had his great men about him in such a
ıer as he was used to receive ambassadors.
asked by his interpreters (whereof there
three with him) whether it was true what
been told him, that she had something to
:o him from the Lord God? She answer-
"Yea." Then he bade her speak on: and
not being forward, weightily pondering
, she might say, and he supposing that she
ıt be fearful to utter her mind before them
asked her, whether she desired that any
ıt go aside, before she spoke? She answer-
"No." He then bade her speak the word
ıe Lord to them, and not to fear, for they
good hearts and could hear it. He also
ged her to speak the word she had from
Lord, neither more nor less, for they were
ng to hear it, be it what it would. Then
spoke what was upon her mind.
he Turks hearkened to her with much
ıtion and gravity, till she had done; and

her, whether she had
She asked him, whether
said? And he answered,
farther said, that what
ruth. Then he desired
untry, saying, that they
such an one, as should
o come to them so far as
message from the Lord
ered her a guard to bring
ple, whither she intended.
ng this offer, he told her,
avelling, especially for such
nd wondered that she had
far as she had: saying also,
to her, and kindness that he
that he would not for any
come to the least hurt in his
having no more to say, the
et? She answered warily, that
not; but Christ, the true pro-
f God, who was the light of the
ightened every man coming into
n she knew. And concerning
said, that they might judge of
e or false, according to the words
s he spoke; saying farther, "If
t a prophet speaketh, come to
hall ye know that the Lord hath

sent that prophet; but if it come not to pass, then shall ye know that the Lord never sent him." The Turks confessed this to be true; and Mary having performed her message, departed from the camp to Constantinople, without a guard, whither she came without the least hurt or scoff. And so she returned safe to England.

Concerning Catharine Evans and Sarah Cheevers, two women, who at this time lay in the prison of the inquisition at Malta, and were not released, till after three years confinement, where they suffered most grievous hardships; I intend to speak hereafter, when I am come to the time of their deliverance: and then I purpose to make a large and very remarkable description concerning it.

In the meanwhile I return to the affairs of England, where the government now was quite altered. Many of the late king's judges were now hanged and quartered: among those was also colonel Francis Hacker, of whom about six years before this time it hath been said that he took George Fox prisoner. But he now himself was in prison, and impeached not only as one of those that kept the king prisoner, but also that he signed the warrant for the king's execution, and had conducted him to the scaffold. To all which, and more, he said little, but that *what he did,* was by order of his su-

periors; and that he had endeavoured to serve his country. But this did not avail him, for he was condemned for high treason, and hanged and quartered in October. A day or two before his death, Margaret Fell visited him in prison; and when he was put in mind of what formerly he had done against the innocent, he remembered it, and said, he knew well whom she meant, and had trouble upon him for it. For G. Fox, (who had compared him to Pilate) bade him, when the day of his misery and trial should come upon him, to remember what he said to him. And as Hacker's son in law Needham, then did not scruple to say, that it was time to have G. Fox cut off: so it came to be the lot of Hacker himself to be cut off at Tyburn, where he was hanged. Such now was the end of many, who were not only guilty of the king's death, and the putting to death of others who were for king Charles the second, but had also transgressed against God by persecuting godly people. They had been often warned, and several times told that God would hear the cries of the widows and fatherless, that had been cruelly oppressed by them: and as they had made spoil of the goods of those whom in scorn they called Quakers, so now fear and quaking was brought upon them, and their estates became a spoil to others. How *plainly* E. Burrough had foretold this, hath

been said before; and not to mention others, I will only say, that one Robert Huntington came once into the steeple-house at Brough, near Carlisle, with a white sheet about him and a halter about his neck, to shew the Presbyterians and Independents there, that the surplice was to be introduced again, and that some of them should not escape the halter. Now how mad soever this was said to be, yet time shewed it a presage of the impending disaster of the cruel persecutors: for when king Charles had ascended the throne, his fiercest enemies were dispatched out of the way.

The parliament sitting at this time, some of those called Quakers were admitted to appear in the House of Lords, where they gave reasons why they could not frequent the public worship, nor swear, nor pay tithes; and they were heard with moderation. The king also about this time shewed himself moderate; for being solicited by some, and more especially by Margaret Fell, he set at liberty about seven hundred of the people called Quakers, who had been imprisoned under the government of Oliver and Richard Cromwell. This passed the easier, because those that were now at the helm, had also suffered under the former government; there seemed likewise some inclination to give liberty of conscience: but there being amongst those now *in authority*, some also of a malicious

temper, they always found means to hinder this good work: and it fell out just now that something started up to stop such a liberty as aforesaid; though it was advanced so far, that an order was drawn up for permitting the Quakers the free exercise of their worship: only the signing and seal to it was wanting, when all on a sudden the fifth monarchy men made an insurrection. There was at that time a great number of this turbulent people in England: who perceiving that their exorbitant opinion was inconsistent with kingly government, which now had taken place, thought it not meet to sit still while the government which was yet but new, should be fully settled and established. Perhaps they had also an intent of freeing the late king's judges, who were imprisoned; for among these were also sir Henry Vane, who having been one of the chief of the commonwealth party, was likewise said to be one of the heads of the fifth monarchy men. It was in the night when these people made a rising; which caused such a stir, that the king's soldiers sounded an alarm by the beating of drums.

The train-bands appeared in arms, and all was in an uproar, and both the mob and soldiers committed great insolence for several days; so that the Quakers, though altogether innocent became the object of the fury of their enemies

ıd many were haled to prison out of their ıaceable meetings.

At that time George Fox was in London, and dging in Pall-Mall, a company of troopers ıme, and knocked at the door of the house ıere he was; which being opened, they rushed to the house, and laid hold of him. One of ese, that had formerly served under the parıment, clapped his hand to G. Fox's pocket, ıd asked whether he had any pistol? G. Fox ld him, he knew he did not use to carry pisls, why then did he ask such a question of m, whom he knew to be a peaceable man! thers of these fellows ran up into the chambers, ıd there found esquire Marsh, before mentionl, in bed, who though he was one of the king's edchamber, yet out of love to G. Fox, came ad lodged where he did. When the troopers ıme down again, they said, "Why should we ıke this man away with us? We will let him lone." "Oh!" said the parliament soldier, "he one of the heads, and a chief ringleader." pon this the soldiers were taking him away. ut esq. Marsh hearing of it, sent for him who ommanded the party, and desired him to let . Fox alone, since he would see him forthoming in the morning, and then they might ıke him. Early in the morning there came a ompany of foot to the house; and one of them rawing *his sword, held it* over G. Fox's head

which made him ask, wherefore he drew his sword at a naked man? At which his fellow, being ashamed, bid him put up his sword; and some time after they brought him to Whitehall, before the troopers came for him. As he was going out, he saw several of his friends going to the meeting, it being then the first day of the week: and he intended to have gone thither himself, if he had not been stopped: but now it being out of his power to keep them company, he commended their boldness, and encouraged them to persevere therein. When he was come to Whitehall, seeing the soldiers and people were exceeding rude, he began to exhort them to godliness. But some great persons coming by, who were envious of him, said, "What, do ye let him preach? Put him into such a place where he may not stir." So he was put into that place, and the soldiers watched over him: but G. Fox told them, though they could confine his body, and shut that up, yet the word of life they could not stop. Some then asked him what he was? He told them he was a preacher of righteousness. After he had been kept there two or three hours, esq. Marsh spoke to the lord Gerard, who came, and bid them set G. Fox at liberty. When he was discharged, the marshal demanded fees, G. Fox told him he could not give him any: and he asked him how *he could* demand fees of him who was innocent!

Neveretheless he told him that in his own freedom he would give them two-pence, to let him and the soldiers drink. But they shouted at that, which made him say, if they would not accept it they might choose; for he should not give them fees. Then he went through the guards and came to an inn, where several of his friends at that time were prisoners under a guard, and about night he went to the house of one of his friends.

This insurrection of the fifth monarchy men caused great disturbance in the nation; and though the Quakers did not at all meddle with these boisterous people, yet they fell under great sufferings because of them; and both men and women were dragged out of their houses to prison, and some sick men off their beds by the legs; amongst which was one Thomas Pachyn, who being in a fever, was dragged by the soldiers out of his bed to prison, where he died.

This persecution going on throughout the nation, Margaret Fell went to the king, and gave him an account how her friends, that were in no wise concerned in the said insurrection and riots, were treated; for several thousands of them were cast into prison. The king and council wondered how they could have such intelligence, since strict charge was given for the intercepting of all letters, so that none could pass *unsearched*. But notwithstanding this, so

much was heard of the numbers of the imprisoned, that Margaret Fell went a second time to the king and council, and acquainted them with the grievous sufferings of her friends. G. Fox then wrote a letter of consolation to his suffering friends; and also published in print a declaration against all sedition, plotters and fighters, wherein he manifested, that they were an harmless people, that denied wars and fightings, and could not make use of the outward sword, or other carnal weapons. This declaration was presented to the king and his council, and was of such effect, that the king gave forth a proclamation, that no soldiers should go to search any house, but with a constable. When afterwards some of the fifth monarchy men were put to death because of their insurrection, they did the Quakers, so called, that right, that they cleared them openly from having an hand in, or knowledge of their plot. This and other evidences caused the king, being continually importuned thereunto, to issue forth a declaration, that the Quakers should be set at liberty without paying fees.

Many of the Presbyterian preachers now temporized, and for keeping their benefices, *joined with* the Episcopalians, and did not scruple *to put on* the surplice. But this gave occasion *to many of* their hearers to leave them, and join *with the* Quakers, so called, who could no

comply with the times. Others, who were a little more steadfast, made use of their money to get liberty, though under the government of Cromwell they would permit no liberty of conscience to others; insomuch that one Hewes, an eminent priest at Plymouth in Oliver's days, when some liberty was granted, prayed that God would put it into the hearts of the chief magistrates of the nation, to remove this cursed toleration. But this Hewes, after the king was come in, being asked by one, whether he would account toleration accursed now, answered only by the shaking of his head.

Now though many of the Quakers, as hath been said, were released from prison, yet they suffered exceedingly in their religious assemblies. Once a company of Irishmen came to the Bull mall, when G. Fox was there; but the meeting was already broken up; and he being gone up into a chamber, heard one of those rude persons, who was a colonel, say he would kill the Quakers. Whereupon G. Fox came down, and told him, "The law said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but thou threatenest to kill all the Quakers, though they have done thee no hurt:" but said he farther, "Here is a duel for thee: here's my hair, here's my head, and here's my shoulder," turning it to him. This so surprised the colonel, that he and his companions stood amazed, and said,

"If this be your principle as you say, we never saw the like in our lives." To which G. Fox said. "What I am in words, I am the same in life." Then the colonel carried himself lovingly; though a certain ambassador who stood without, and then came in, said, that this Irish colonel was such a desperate man, that he durst not come in with him, for fear he should have done great mischief.

Notwithstanding suchlike rude encounters, yet by the change of the government, some stop was put to the fierce current of persecution; for the king being but newly settled on the throne, shewed yet an inclination to lenity. But this quiet did not last long, and was but a time of respiration: for the churchmen instigated (as it seems very probable) by the favourers of popery, continued envious, and staid but for an opportunity to shew their malice. An instance of which hath been seen already on the insurrection of the fifth monarchy men, and in the sequel will be seen much clearer: since, though they did not seem to persecute for conscience sake, yet under a colour of justice laws were made use of, that had formerly been enacted for the suppression of popery, and to secure the kingdom against jesuits, and other traiterous Papists; these being the laws, of *which* G. Fox in his letter to the king had said, *that they* held up persecution about religion.

That it may be known what laws those were and that it may also appear what an unreasonable use hath been made thereof, I shall here set them down, or abstracts of them; that so it may be more plainly seen, what awkward means have been made use of, and how sinisterously the laws were executed. Sometimes I may interweave among these abstracts, some observations, or an account of a case, which, though not placed in due time, may yet be serviceable to give a true notion of things. I now repair to those laws.

In the 27th year of king Henry the eighth, a law was made for the payment of tithes: for that king having either given or sold many chapels and abbies to laymen, those laymen had no right, as priests claimed to have, to summon to ecclesiastical courts those that failed in the payment of tithes. But for this a law was provided, by virtue of which, a judge of an ecclesiastical court, might be helpful to laymen, and in that law it was said,

"If the judge of an ecclesiastical court make complaint to two justices of peace (*quorum unus*) of any contumacy, or misdemeanour committed by a defendant in any suit there depending for tithes, the said justices shall commit such defendant to prison, there to remain *till he shall find sufficient* surety to be bound

before them by recognizance, or otherwise to give due obedience to the process, proceedings, decrees, and sentences of the said court."

By this law (which is pretended to be still in force) many honest people have suffered, and been kept very long in prison: for they refusing to find surety for the payment of tithes, which for conscience-sake they could not give to such ministers who lived from a forced maintenance, and did not (as they judged) profit the people; it was in the power of the priests to detain them prisoners, till the pretended debt was paid; which the persecuted judged so unreasonable, that some have therefore continued in prison for many years, choosing rather to die in jail, than uphold such preachers, by paying tithes to them. And the Quakers so called, have never offered resistance, but suffering and forbearance have always been their arms, though they were almost continually vexed with laws never made against them: and more especially were they molested with the oath of supremacy, which was made in the beginning of the reign of queen Elizabeth, though (it may be) projected in the time of Henry the eighth, which runs thus:

"I *A. B.* do utterly testify and declare in *my conscience*, that the [king's] highness is the

only supreme governor in this realm, and of all other [his] highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes as temporal. And that no foreign prince prelate, state, or potentate, hath, or ought to have any jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminenence, or authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm: and therefore I do utterly renounce and forsake all foreign jurisdictions, powers, superiorities and authorities, and do promise, that from henceforth I shall bear faith, and true allegiance to the [king's] highness, [his] heirs and lawful successors; and to my power, shall assist and defend all jurisdiction, priveleges, preeminences and authorities granted, or belonging to the [king's] highness, [his] heirs and successors, or united and annexed to the imperial crown of this realm. So, help me God, and by the contents of this book.'

In the first year of Queen Elizabeth, an act was made for uniformity of common prayer, having this clause:

"Every person shall resort to their parish church, or, upon let thereof, to some other, every sunday and holiday, upon pain to be punished by censures of the church, and also to forfeit twelve-pence, to be levied by the church-

ardens there, for the use of the poor,
offender's goods, by way of distress."

Here it is to be noted, that some have prosecuted the pretended offenders on this clause, to obviate greater severities; although this law was made because of the Papists, thereby to force them to come to church; for about that time there were not so many Protestant Dissenters in England, as afterwards; but these appearing in time, were as much under the lash of this law as the Papists; for their religious assemblies were not reckoned to be churches, as the steeple-houses by a metonymy have been generally called, on the same ground as the Jews meeting-houses have been called synagogues, though the word itself properly signifies the assembly of the people.

Now since the aforesaid law was not strictly obeyed, not only by Papists, but also by others, who aiming at a further reformation, could no longer comply with the rites of the church of England, in the 23d year of Elizabeth, a more severe law was made, with this clause:

"Every person not repairing to church, according to the statute of 1 Eliz. 2. shall forfeit twenty pounds for every month they make default; and if they so forbear

space of twelve months, after certificate thereof, made by the ordinary under the King's Bench, a justice of assize, gaol-delivery, or peace of the county where they dwell, shall bind them in two sufficient sureties of £200. at least, to their good behaviour, from which they shall not be released until they shall repair to church according to the said statute."

This law it seems was not thought severe enough; therefore in the 29th year of the said queen, another law was made, with this clause:

The queen may seize all goods, and two third parts of the lands and leases of every offender not repairing to church as aforesaid, in such of the terms of Easter and Michaelmas, as shall happen next after such conviction, for the sum then due for the forfeiture of twenty pounds a month, and yearly after that (in the same terms) according to the rate of twenty pounds a month for so long a time as they shall forbear to come to church, according to the said statute of 23d Eliz. 1."

Upon these acts many were prosecuted; but in the height of this proceeding, George Whitehead, Gilbert Latey, and others, solicited king Charles the second on behalf of their friends; which *had such effect*, that the king ordered

stay of process in divers counties; yet afterwards the persecution was continued till after his death, both as to imprisonment, as well as the seizing of goods: and other old laws were also made use of; for in the 35th year of queen Elizabeth's reign, when the Papists sometimes were forming plots against the queen, an act was made, containing the effect of this clause:

"If any above sixteen years of age shall be convicted to have absented themselves above a month from church, without any lawful cause, impugned the queen's authority in causes ecclesiastical, or frequented conventicles, or persuaded others so to do, under pretence of exercise of religion, they shall be committed to prison, and there remain until they shall conform themselves, and make such open submission as hereafter shall be prescribed: and if within three months after such conviction, they refuse to conform, and submit themselves, being thereunto required by a justice of the peace, they shall in open assize, or sessions, abjure the realm: and if such abjuration happen to be before justices of the peace in sessions, they shall make certificate thereof at the next assize, jail-delivery."

"And, if such an offender refuse to abjure, or going away accordingly, doth return without *the queen's* licence, he shall be adjudged a felon,

all not enjoy the benefit of clergy; but if
e he be required to abjure, he makes his
ssion, the penalties aforesaid shall not be
ed upon him."

ough it may be supposed this act was made
y against Papists, yet some few of the
ers, so called, have been prosecuted there-
which was for their lives; for if they had
willing to depart the realm, yet such, who
nscience-sake could not swear at all, could
blige themselves by oath that they would
And this being very well known, it once
ned, that one William Alexander, of
ham in Suffolk, being with several more
ed upon this act, was asked, "Guilty, or
ilty?" He not being hasty to answer, the
said, "Why don't you plead guilty, or not
?" To which Alexander replied, "What
lst thou advise us to plead? The judge
sometimes used to be severe enough) said,
you ask my advice?" "Yes," said Alex-
. "Then," returned the judge, "you
have it; and I'll advise you to plead not
." So the prisoners accordingly pleaded
uilty. Then said the judge to the prose-
s, "Now you must prove these men, neither
ve been at their own parish church, nor at
ther church or chapel, else they are not
this act, which is a sanguinary law."

Thus the judge carried on his discourse, discharge of Alexander and his friends from severe indictment: for the prosecutors were able to prove this with evidence, as the l required. One William Bennet had also be long in prison at Edmondsbury in Suffolk, this act, and one Richard Vickris near Bristo But now I go back again.

After the demise of queen Elizabeth, whe James the first had ascended the throne, the Papists still continued their wicked designs, of which the gunpowder plot may serve for an instance. To suppress therefore these malicious people, and for the better discovering of them, in the third year of that king's reign, an act was made, in which was contained the following oath, which was to be taken by popish recusants:

"I *A. B.* do truly and sincerely acknowledge, profess, testify, and declare in my conscience before God and the world, that our sovereign lord king James, is lawful and rightful king of this realm, and of all other his majesty's dominions and countries; and that the pope, neither of himself, nor by any authority of the church, or see of Rome, or by any other means, with any other, hath any power or authority to depose *the king*, or to dispose of any of his majesty's

kingdoms or dominions, or to authorise any foreign prince to invade, or annoy him, or his countries, or to discharge, any of his subjects from their allegiance and obedience to his majesty, or to give licence or leave to any of them to bear arms, raise tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to his majesty's royal person, state, or government, or to any of his majesty's subjects within his majesty's dominions: Also I do swear from my heart, that notwithstanding any declaration, or sentence of excommunication, or deprivation, made or granted, or to be made or granted, by the pope or his successors, or by any authority derived, or pretended to be derived from him or his see, against the said king, his heirs, or successors, or any absolution of the said subjects from their obedience, I will bear faith and true allegiance to his majesty, his heirs and successors, and him and them will defend to the uttermost of my power, against all conspiraces and attempts whatsoever, which shall be made against his or their persons, their crown and dignity, by reason or colour of any such sentence or declaration, or otherwise: and will do my best endeavour to disclose, and make known unto his majesty, his heirs and successors, all treasons, and traiterous conspiracies, which I shall know or hear of to be against him, or any of them. And I do further swear, that I *from my heart abhor*, detest, and abjure, as

impious and heretical, this damnable doctrine and position, that princes which be excommunicated, or deprived by the pope, may be deposed, or murdered by their subjects, or any other whatsoever. And I do believe, and in my conscience am resolved, that neither the pope, nor any person whatsoever, hath power to absolve me of this oath, or any part thereof, which I acknowledge by good and full authority to be lawfully ministred unto me, and do renounce all pardons and dispensations of the contrary. And all these things I do plainly and sincerely acknowledge, and swear according to the express words by me spoken, and according to the plain and common sense and understanding of the same words, without any equivocation, or mental evasion, or secret reservation whatsoever. And I do make this recognition and acknowledgement, heartily, willingly, and truly, upon the true faith of a Christian. So help me God."

This oath, commonly called the oath of allegiance, was afterwards called by the name of the test; and the introduction of it makes mention of the gunpowder-plot, and signifies that this expedient was contrived to discover Papists; and yet many of the people called Quakers, have suffered thereby many years; for though they did not refuse to declare their allegiance, *yet because* it was well known, they were not

for swearing at all; this oath was continually made use of as a snare to imprison them. Now the punishment stated against the recusants, was a *premunire:* and how grievously many Quakers have been oppressed on that account, though not easily related, yet I may give instances in due places of several in the sequel. Other severe laws for persecution have been made since, as will be seen in their proper time.

At the close of this year, E. Burrough wrote a consolatory epistle to his fellow-labourers in the ministry of the Gospel, which I cannot omit to insert here, because it shews very evidently how valiant he was in the service of Truth, which epistle is as followeth:

"Dearly well-beloved brethren, in the heavenly relation, and blessed immortal birth, of which we are born most dearly in our Father's love; my salutation extendeth unto you all, as one with you perfectly in sufferings and in rejoicings, in faith and patience, and even in all things which you do and suffer for the name of the Lord our God; and my soul greets you, and embraces you, and fervently wishes peace, love, and unity, and the increase of every good gift unto you all; for I am perfectly one with you; if you receive of our Father's fulness, I *am refreshed; and if* you rejoice, I am glad;

and if you suffer, and be in heaviness, I freely partake with you; whatsoever is yours, whether liberty or bonds, whether life or death, I partake of the same; and whatsoever I enjoy, the same also is yours; we are of one birth, of one seed, of one line, even of the generation of him who is without beginning of days, or end of life, who is an high priest, made after the power of an endless life; and as he was blessed of the Father, so are we, because we are of the same birth, and are partakers of his nature, and he lives in us, and we in him.

"Well, my dear companions, I need not multiply words unto you, as if you knew not these things; for, what know I, that you know not? Or, what can I say, but you know the same? Yet bear with me, for my heart is very full, and my soul ready to be poured forth, that I may once more express a little quantity of what is abounding in my heart; for love even perfect love, even that love wherewith we are beloved of the Father, filleth my heart at this time towards all of you, from the least to the greatest; and I know nothing but love towards you all; and I doubt not but in the same love you do receive this my salutation, which is from the fountain of love, which at this time is opened in my heart.

"*Now*, dearly beloved, the present considerations *of my* heart are very many concerning

the great love of the Father, which hitherto hath been shewed unto us; we all know, how that he called us by his grace, and turned our hearts from the vanities and evil ways of this world, and sanctified us by his word, and put his image upon us, and called us by his name, and redeemed us unto himself, and gave us the testimony of his holy spirit in our own hearts, that we should be his people, and he would be our God; he taught us, and instructed us, and fed us, and gave us peace and rest in himself, and freed us from the bondage of sin and corruption, and from his terror because of sin; and he removed our transgessions, and blotted them out, and ceased to smite us any more, but brought us into the land of rest, flowing with mercy, and peace, and knowledge, and all good things; this did the Lord our God do for us in the days of our infancy, even when we were yet in our sins he called us forth, and cleansed us from them; and when we were strangers to him, he made himself known unto us: and when we were wholly ignorant, he gave us knowledge: and when we were not a people, he raised us up, and made us worthy to be called by his name: and thus, and after this manner, did the Father love us, and shewed his love unto us: this you know, even as I do, and the consideration of it causeth me thus to express it.

"*Again, when he had thus wrought for us,*

and shewed love unto us, he was pleased
us out into his work, to the turning an
verting of others unto the way of life: l
his Spirit into us, and gave us gifts of
ledge and utterance, and armed us with w
and strength, and courage, and every way
us for that work and service in which h
carried us on; he, I say, fitted us for his
and called us into it, and carried us on jc
in it, and all this of his free love, and i
power; and what we have been, and wl
have done, it hath been only of the Lor
not of ourselves, even of his love, which
has been admirable: for alas! what we
but children, and neither prophets, nor prc
sons, and our education unanswerable for
things, and to perform this calling? And
fore it is the Lord, and only he that ef
his own purpose through us, and by
instruments mean of ourselves, but by hin
excellent.

"Again, he hath mightily prospered us
work, and a glorious effect we have beh
our labours, and travels, and testimony;
the Lord hath been with us abundantly, a
arm hath compassed us about, and he
often given us great victory over the wis
prudent of this world; he hath made hi
word often very powerful in our mou
the wounding of the consciences of

mies; and the Lord hath blessed our testimony, to the confounding the wisdom of this world, and to the gathering of many unto himself; and he hath gone forth before us in his authority, and been always with us in his own work; and our testimonies, labours, and travels, have been very precious and pleasant unto the Lord, and all his people; and the effect thereof causeth my soul to rejoice, because the Lord hath been with us, and prospered us unto a great people, who have received our witness, and accepted thereof unto their salvation: and unto the Lord alone, the glory of all this appertaineth.

"And for these eight years and upward, the hand of the Lord hath carried us through great labours and travels in his service, and many dangers, and persecutions, and afflictions have attended us all this time; and ye know that many a time hath the Lord delivered us from the hands of such as would have destroyed us; and we have been delivered again, and again, out of dangers and difficulties, and the Lord hath been a present help unto us in the time of our trouble; for the plotting of the wicked, and the purpose of ungodly men, hath often been broken for our sakes, even many a time have we been delivered out of the snare that hath been laid for us, and we have seen our enemies fall before *us on the right* hand, and on the left,

even the wise in their worldly wisdom, and the foolish in their brutishness, both professors and profane hath our God often cut short in their desires and endeavours of our destruction; and we have been wonderfully preserved unto this day; and all this I attribute to the infinite love and power of the Lord God, who is blessed for evermore.

"And through all these things we are yet alive, and the Lord doth not fail us unto this hour, but he lives and walks in us, and with us, and his testimony is with us, even the seal of his good Spirit in our hearts, that we are his sons and servants, and we are confirmed by many tokens that he is our God, and we are his people, and that great oppression which we have met withal, hath not restrained us, but through it all have we grown, and prospered unto this day: and concerning the things whereof we have testified these divers years, I am no way doubtful but our God will fulfil them, neither can my confidence be shaken by what is or can come to pass; for antichrist must fall, false ministry and worship, false ways and doctrines God will confound, false power and false church the Lord will lay low, and truth and righteousness must reign; and God will gather his people more and more, and glorious days will appear; God will exalt his kingdom upon *earth, and throw* down the kingdom of the man

of sin; all oppressions must cease, and the oppressors shall be no more; and God will free his people, and they shall be happy in this world, and for ever: these things have we prophesied from day to day; and my faith is constant and unmoveable, that God will effect these things in his season; for the Lord never yet deceived me, but what he hath said will surely come to pass.

"And therefore, brethren, let us be in hope and patience, and live in the word of patience, and not be faint-hearted, as though the Lord had forgotten us, or was unmindful of us, or as though he would not perform what he hath testified of by us; for he is not a man, that he should lie, nor as a man, that he is given to change: but lift up your heads, for the Lord with us, even in our greatest tribulations and afflictions, and he will accomplish his purpose for he is mighty to save his people, and destroy his enemies.

It is true, the gates of hell at this time [illegible] to be opened against us, and we are a [illegible]le like to be swallowed up of our enemies, [illegible]loods of wickedness seem to overflow, and [illegible]aves of the great sea seem to be void of [illegible], and the hope of our adversaries is to [illegible]uish us from being a people, and to des- [illegible] from the face of the earth; and the [illegible] *of our persecutors* are highly exalted at

this day, as though all that we have done for the Lord, by our labours and travels, should now be made of none effect.

"Well, dear brethren, though it be thus, yet our God can deliver us and confound our adversaries; and we can appeal unto our God and can spread our cause before him: and he knows that our sufferings and afflictions are altogether unjust and unequal, and unrighteous and that our persecutors do afflict us out of their envy, and without any just cause administered unto them by us; our God knows it, angels and saints know it, that we are at this day a persecuted people, for religion's sake; and this our present affliction is not for any just punishment either from the justice of God, or from the justice of men.

"For God hath given us the witness of his eternal Spirit, that wrath is not in him toward us; his wrath be to his enemies, but unto us is joy and peace for evermore: and the Lord clears us, and he justifies us, who then shall condemn us? He chargeth no guilt upon us, as if we were unto ourselves the cause, by our evil deeds, of these our present sufferings, and as if this were to come to pass upon us as a punishment from the hand of God: I say it is not so; these our present sufferings are not out of God's anger towards us, for his love is to us, let his *wrath be to his* enemies: and as I said, neither

. this suffering in the justice of men; for unto ll the world we can say, (and God himself shall lead our cause) whom have we wronged or one evil to? What evil have we done to any an's person? Whose goods have we falsely ken or coveted? Against whom have we deigned mischief? Even the Lord himself be dge between us and our persecutors in this atter; for unto him we are known that we do esire the good of all, and not the hurt of any, nd yet we are dealt with as evil-doers; when s the God of heaven is witness in our conciences, that we neither plot nor contrive, nor gitate in word or thought the hurt of any man's erson: but we walk justly towards all, it beng our principle to do to others as we would e done unto; and we can plead our cause vith our God, and he shall plead our cause with ur enemies, and this is the present state of our ase; what we suffer at this time it is singly in he cause of God, and for righteousness' sake, nd for the testimony of Jesus which we hold; herefore let us freely commit our cause unto he God of heaven, and if we die, it is for him, nd if we live, it is to him; and we seek not engeance against our enemies, but leave it to he Lord to plead with them.

"And dearly beloved, I hope I need not exort you to be patient and faithful in this day f our *trial, knowing* that the cause is so ex-

cellent in which we are tried, it is God's cause, and not our own; and I hope you all have the testimony of his Spirit in your consciences, verifying the truth of the cause for which we suffer; and having that evidence, we need not to be doubtful as towards God, nor ashamed before men, if so be that every one feels the evidence of the Spirit of God bearing witness, that we suffer for righteousness-sake, and for the name of Christ Jesus.

"And so, dear brethren, lift up your heads, and be assured, that we are the Lord's, and in his cause we are tried, and he will judge and avenge our persecutors in his season, and we shall be a people when the Egyptians lie dead upon the sea shore, and when the raging sea is dried up, this same people shall be safe; for hath the Lord done such excellent things for us? Hath he led us forth, and blessed us unto this day? And hath he preserved us hitherto through many tribulations and dangers? Hath he shewed infinite love and favour unto us to this hour? And will he now suffer us to be destroyed from being a people? Surely no: will he give our enemies their heart's desire, to cut us all off, that they may blaspheme his name? Surely no: and if it be the pleasure of the Lord, that some of us should seal our testimony with our blood, good is the will of the Lord; not ours, *but his will* be done; for the testimony that we

have borne for these divers years, hath been so excellent in itself, and in its fruits and effects, that the finishing of it deserves the best seal that possibly we can sign it with, which is indeed our heart's blood; and this dwells upon my spirit; and yet, though it should be thus, my confidence is sure, that the work of the Lord shall prosper, and our testimony shall be glorious for ever, and this people shall never be extinguished from being a people.

"And I know not any thing that remains upon our part at this day, but that we commit ourselves into the hand of the Lord, living in the seed of God, wherein our election is sure, before the world was, and for ever; and let us remember one another, and pray one for another; and let us stir up all the children of our Father to faithfulness and patience, while we have time; I say, let us walk to the glory of the Lord, keeping faith and a good conscience to our last end; our testimony shall never die, nor our memories ever perish when we are ceased to be; and though we suffer now the loss of life, and all we have, yet the effects thereof will be glorious in ages to come, and our present sufferings will hasten the glory of God's work throughout the world: receive this as my salutation to you all.

"*It is now* eight days since I left Ireland,

where my service hath been precic
Lord for full six months, all which tin
carried me in much faithfulness an
in his service, to the confirming of m
truth of God, and to the converting
and through and because of the pres
Lord which was with me, I had a ver
time, and was wonderfully preserve
many dangers and trials: and I trav
two thousand miles to and fro in th
had very free passage in the principl
towns, till my work for the present
ended there, having more time thar
expected to clear my conscience to
It would be too large to mention ev
ular transaction, wherein I perceived
hand of God with me; and also ma
observed concerning the present stat
which I shall not mention: for what
do with the affairs of worldly kingd
as for friends, it was well with them,
and increase in the blessings and ful
Father; and when I came thence al
and very few in prison, though (I su
tidings of things as they are here, w
the same sufferings upon them: but
will be bold and valiant, for the trut
their testimony by faithful sufferings
things be finished.

"Thus I remain in life and death, and when I am no more, in everlasting remembrance, your dear brother and companion, by doing and suffering for the name of the Lord and his truth. I am well, and at liberty, as yet.

"E. B."

11th of the 12th, month, 1660.

Property of

THE

HISTORY

OF THE

RISE AND PROGRESS

OF THE

SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

THE SIXTH BOOK.

HE year 1661 being come, the government altogether changed. Charles the second now seated on the throne of England in e, and the power of persecution seemed what restrained; so that there was an apance of some quiet and calm. Therefore ow take a turn to New England, to draw the curtains of the bloody stage at Boston. have already seen in the foregoing relation, William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, Mary Dyar, were put to death by their pertors, but their blood-thirstiness was not yet ched.

William Leddra, who was banished from Boson pain of death, was under such necessity onscience, *that he* could not forbear return-

ing thither; where he came about the conclusion of the foregoing year; but was soon taken prisoner, and being fastened to a log of wood, was kept night and day locked in chains, in an open prison, during a very cold winter; where we will leave him for the present, and in the meanwhile insert here an apology of the Boston persecutors concerning their cruel carriage, which may serve to confirm the truth of what hath been already related of their wicked dealings. For it seems, that fearing their bloody deeds would be disapproved by the court of England, they thought it safest for them to gild their transactions with a specious pretence; though this was of no other effect than that thereby they yet more exposed their own shame to public view, and in process of time they also incurred the king's displeasure; for though Charles the second was inclined to voluptuousness, yet he was goodnatured, and the persecution in his reign proceeded chiefly from the instigation of other malicious men. But to come to the apology or declaration of the bloody persecutors, it was as followeth:

"Although the justice of our proceedings against William Robinson, Marmaduke Stevenson, and Mary Dyar, supported by the authority of this court, the laws of this country, and the law of God, may rather persuade us to ex-

pect encouragement and commendation from all prudent and pious men, than convince us of any necessity to apologize for the same: yet for as much as men of weaker parts; out of pity and commiseration, a commendable and Christian virtue, yet easily abused, and susceptible of sinister and dangerous impressions, for want of a full information, may be less satisfied; and men of perverser principles led to calumniate us, and render us as bloody persecutors; to satisfy the one, and stop the mouths of the other, we thought it requisite to declare, that about three years since, divers persons professing themselves Quakers, (of whose pernicious opinions and practices we had received intelligence from good hands from Barbadoes and England) arrived at Boston, whose persons were only secured to be sent away the first opportunity, without censure or punishment, although their professed tenets, turbulent and contemptuous behaviour to authority, would have justified a severer animadversion; yet the prudence of this court was exercised, only in making provision to secure the peace and order here established, against their attempts, whose design (we were well assured by our own experience, as well as by the example of their predecessors in Munster) was to undermine and ruin the same.

"And accordingly a law was made and published, prohibiting *all* masters of ships to bring

any Quakers into this jurisdiction, and themselves from coming in on penalty of the house of correction, till they should be sent away. Notwithstanding which, by a back door they found entrance, and the penalty inflicted on themselves proving insufficient to restrain their impudent and insolent obstrusions, was increased by the loss of the ears of those who offended the second time; which also being too weak a defence against their impetuous frantic fury, necessitated us to endeavour our security; and upon serious consideration, after the former experiments by their incessant assaults, a law was made, that such persons should be banished upon pain of death, according to the example of England, in their provision against Jesuits; which sentence being regularly pronounced at the last court of assistants, against the parties above named, and they either returning, or continuing presumptuously in this jurisdiction after the time limited, were apprehended, and owning themselves to be the persons banished, were sentenced by the court to death, according to the law aforesaid, which hath been executed upon two of them. Mary Dyar (upon petition of her son, and the mercy and clemency, of this court) had liberty to depart within two days; which she hath accepted of. The consideration of our gradual proceeding will vindicate us *from the* clamorous accusation of severity, our

own just and necessary defence calling upon u
(other means failing) to offer the point, whic
these persons have violently and wilfully rushe
upon, and thereby become felons *de se;* which,
might it have been prevented, and the sovereign
law, *salus populi,* been preserved, our former
proceedings, as well as the sparing Mary Dyar
upon an inconsiderable intercession, will mani-
festly evince, that we desire their lives absent,
rather than their deaths present.

"Edward Rawson, Secretary."

In this apology, wherein the Quakers (who always were a harmless people, and never made resistance with outward arms) are compar-d to the mutinous and riotous Anabaptists of Munster, it is also said of them, that by a back door they found entrance. And this reflects on me who unexpectedly came into New England land, since they could find no opportunity come by sea, because the ship-masters fearing severity of the Boston laws, were unwilling arry any Quakers thither. This gave occa- to Thomas Thirstone (who having been dy at Boston, was sent away on board a) to think on other means; for finding elf moved in spirit to go thither again, he osiah Coale (of whom mention hath been before, and who may be farther spoken after,) went from England to Virginia,

from whence they with one Thomas Chapman travelled several hundreds of miles on foot through vast wildernesses and woods, and so at length came into New England, which made the persecutors there astonished; for they thought this impossible, that way having been accounted impassable for other men than the Indians, many of whom in those parts are warlike men, who behaved themselves well toward our travellers, whose journey however was very hard; for they had not only hunger and cold (it being winter time) to encounter with, but they were also in danger of being devoured by wild beasts, or of perishing in unknown marshes or bogs. But they were preserved by an Almighty hand; though this marvellous passage was represented like a criminal sauciness, by these New England persecutors.

It seems to me that the apology, aforesaid (which was published in print, and likewise answered) was given forth before Mary Dyar was put to death; but after her death the general court of Boston sent over an address to king Charles the second, signed by their governor John Endicot, to justify their cruel proceedings. Herein they said, that they had chosen rather the pure Scripture worship, with a good conscience, in that remote wilderness amongst the heathen, than the pleasures of England with subjection to the imposition of the then so dis-

posed, and so far prevailing hierarchy, whicl they could not do without an evil conscience.

Concerning the Quakers, they said, that they were open capital blasphemers, and seducers from the glorious Trinity, the Lord Christ, the blessed gospel: open enemies to the government itself; and malignant promoters of doctrines directly tending to subvert both church and state.

Moreover they said, that at last they had been constrained for their own safety to pass a sentence of banishment against them on pain of leath, since the magistrate in conscience judged iimself called for the defence of all to keep the assage with the point of the sword held towards hem; and that this could do no harm to them at would be warned thereby. But the Quakers emselves rushing thereupon was their own act, d a crime, bringing their blood upon their n heads.

Could they have made the king believe this, y would willingly have done it; but he had much sense to be thus imposed upon, though did whatever they could to prevent his ing the other party, in order whereunto said, "Let not the king hear mens' words; servants are true men, fearers of God and ng, and not given to change, zealous of ıment *and order*; not seditious to the in-

of Cæsar,

How smooth and plausible soever this seemed, yet it could not stand the test; and E. Burrough, who answered it in print, addressed the king thus:

"O king, this my occasion to present thee with these considerations is very urgent, and of great necessity, even on the behalf of innocent blood, hoping that my work will find such favour with thee, as to induce thee to the reading and serious consideration thereof."

E. Burrough then examining all their pretended reasons, represented also to the king how some of these petitioners some time before had hesitated to write in a letter from Boston to one Gordon: "There is more danger in these Quakers, to trouble and overcome England, than in the king of the Scots, and all the popish princes in Germany;" which plainly denoted, that they reputed the king a troubler of England, whom they numbered with the popish princes of Germany. What E. Burrough obtained of the king for his friends, we may see hereafter.

But first I return to William Leddra, whom I left in prison: it was on the ninth of the first month of this year, that he was brought into the court of assistants, with his chain and log *at his heels,* and he asking the jailor, when he

intended to take off the irons from his legs; the jailor roughly answered, "When thou art going to be hanged." W. Leddra then being brought to the bar, it was told him by the rulers, speaking of their law, that he was found guilty, and so that he was to die. He said, "What evil have I done?" The answer was, his own confession was as good as a thousand witnesses. He asked, what that was? To which they answered, that he owned those Quakers that were put to death, and that they were innocent. Besides, that he would not put off his hat in court, and that he said thee and thou. Then said William to them, "You will put me to death for speaking English, and for not putting off my clothes?" To this major-general Denison replied, "A man may speak treason in English." And William answered, "Is it treason to say thee and thou to a single person?" But none answered, only Simon Broadstreet, one of the court, asked him whether he would go for England? To which he replied, "I have no business there." Hereupon Broadstreet, pointing to the gallows, said, "Then you shall go that way." To which William returned. "What, will ye put me to death for breathing in the air of your jurisdiction? And for what you have against me, I appeal to the laws of England for my trial; and if by them I am found guilty, I refuse not to die." Of this no notice was taken.

but instead thereof, they endeavoured to persuade him to recant his error (as they stiled it) and to conform; to which with a grave magnanimity he answered, "What! to join with such murderers as you are? Then let every man that meets me say, lo this is the man that hath forsaken the God of his salvation."

Whilst the trial of William Leddra was thus going on, Wenlock Christison, who was already banished upon pain of death, came into the court. This struck a damp upon them, insomuch that for some space of time there was silence in the court: but at length one of the bloody council cried, "Here is another, fetch him up to the bar." Which the marshal performing, the secretary Rawson said, "Is not your name Wenlock Christoson? "Yea," said Wenlock. "Well," said the governor John Endicot, "what dost thou here? Wast thou not banished upon pain of death?" To which Wenlock answered, "Yea, I was." And to the question, "What dost thou here then?" he answered, "I am come here to warn you that you should shed no more innocent blood; for the blood which you have shed already, cries to the Lord God for vengeance to come upon you." Whereupon it was said, "Take him away jailor."

It having been told W. Leddra, that the last general court he had liberty given him to go for *England, or to* go out of their jurisdiction, and

that promising to do so, and come there no more, he might save his life; he answered, "I stand not in my own will, but in the will of the Lord: if I may have my freedom, I shall go, but to make you a promise I cannot." But this was so far from giving content, that they proceeded to pronounce sentence of death against him; which being done, he was led from the court to prison again, where the day before his death he wrote the following letter to his friends:

"Most dear and inwardly beloved,

"The sweet influences of the Morning Star, like a flood distilling into my innocent habitation, hath so filled me with the joy of the Lord in the beauty of holiness, that my spirit is as if it did not inhabit a tabernacle of clay, but is wholly swallowed up in the bosom of eternity, from whence it had its being.

"Alas, alas, what can the wrath and spirit of man, that lusteth to envy, aggravated by the heart and strength of the king of the locusts, which came out of the pit, do unto one that is hid in the secret places of the Almighty? Or unto them that are gathered under the healing wings of the Prince of Peace? under whose armour of light they shall be able to stand in the day of trial, having on the breastplate of righteousness, and the *sword of the spirit*, which is their weapon of

war against spiritual weakness, principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, both within and without! Oh my beloved! I have waited as a dove at the windows of the ark, and have stood still in that watch, which the Master (without whom I could do nothing) did at his coming reward with fulness of his love, wherein my heart did rejoice, that I might in the love and life of God speak a few words to you, sealed with the spirit of promise, that the taste thereof might be a savour of life to your life, and a testimony in you of my innocent death: and if I had been altogether silent, and the Lord had not opened my mouth unto you, yet he would have opened your hearts, and there have sealed my innocence with the streams of life, by which we are all baptized into that body which is in God, whom, and in whose presence there is life; in which, as you abide, you stand upon the pillar and ground of truth: for, the life being the truth and the way, go not one step without it lest you should compass a mountain in the wilderness; for unto every thing there is a season.

"As the flowing of the ocean doth fill every creek and branch thereof, and then retires again towards its own being and fulness, and leaves a savour behind it, so doth the life and virtue of God flow into every one of your hearts, whom *he hath made* partakers of his divine nature;

and when it withdraws but a little, it leaves a sweet savour behind it, that many can say, they are made clean through the word that he hath spoken to them: in which innocent condition you may see what you are in the presence of God, and what you are without him. Therefore, my dear hearts, let the enjoyment of the life alone be your hope, your joy and consolation, and let the man of God flee those things that would lead the mind out of the cross, for then the savour of the life will be buried: and although some may speak of things that they received in the life, as experiences; yet the life being veiled, and the savour that it left behind washed away by the fresh floods of temptation, the condition that they did enjoy in the life, boasted of by the airy thing, will be like the manna that was gathered yesterday, without any good scent or savour. For, it was only well with the man while he was in the life of innocency; but being driven from the presence of the Lord into the earth, what can he boast of? And although you know these things, and (many of you) much more than I can say; yet, (for the love and zeal I bear to the truth and honour of God, and tender desire of my soul to those that are young, that they may read me in that from which I write, to strengthen them against the wiles of the subtil serpent that beguiled Eve) I say, *stand in the watch* within, in the fear of

the Lord, which is the very entrance of wisdom; and the state where you are ready to receive the secrets of the Lord: hunger and thirst patiently, be not weary, neither doubt! Stand still, and cease from thy own working, and in due time thou shalt enter into the rest, and thy eyes shall behold thy salvation, whose testimonies are sure and righteous altogether: let them be as a seal upon thine arm, and as jewels about thy neck, that others may see what the Lord hath done for your souls: confess him before men, yea, before his greatest enemies; fear not what they can do unto you: greater is he that is in you, than he that is in the world; for he will clothe you with humility, and in the power of his meekness you shall reign over all the rage of your enemies in the favour of God: wherein, as you stand in faith, ye are the salt of the earth; for, many seeing your good works, may glorify God in the day of their visitation.

"Take heed of receiving that which you saw not in the light, lest you give ear to the enemy. Bring all things to the light, that they may be proved, whether they be wrought in God; the love of the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eye, are without the light, in the world; therefore possess your vessels in all sanctification and honour, and let your eye look *at the mark*: he that hath called you is holy:

and if there be an eye that offends, pluck it out, and cast it from you: let not a temptation take hold, for if you do, it will keep from the favour of God, and that will be a sad state; for, without grace possessed, there is no assurance of salvation: by grace you are saved; and the witnessing of it is sufficient for you, to which I commend you all, my dear friends, and in it remain,

"Your brother,
"William Leddra."

Boston Gaol, the 13th of the first month, 1660-61.

The day before he suffered.

The next day after this letter was written, the execution of W. Leddra was performed, which was on the 14th of the first month. After the lecture was ended, the governor John Endicot came with a guard of soldiers to the prison, where W. Leddra's irons were taken off, with which he had been chained to a log both night and day during a cold winter; and now they were knocked off, according to what the goaler once said, as hath been related before. William then having taken his leave of Wenlock Christison, and others then in bonds, when called, went forth to the slaughter, encompassed with a guard to prevent his speaking to his friends; which Edward *Wharton, an* inhabitant of Salem, and

also banished on pain of death, seeing and spe ing against, one among the company said, ' Edward, it will be your turn next!" To wh captain Oliver added, "If you speak a word, l stop your mouth." Then W. Leddra bei brought to the foot of the ladder, was pinione and as he was about to ascend the same, h took leave of his friend E Wharton, to whom h said, "All that will be Christ's disciples, mus take up the cross." He standing upon the lad- der, somebody said, "William, have you any thing to say to the people?" Thereupon he spoke thus, "For the testimony of Jesus, and for testifying against deceivers, and the deceived, I am brought here to suffer." This took so much with the people, that it wrought a tender- ness in many. But to quench this, priest Allen said to the spectators, "People, I would not have you think it strange, to see a man so willing to die; for that's no new thing. And you may read how the apostle said, that some should be given up to strong delusions, and even dare to die for it." But he did not say where the apostle speaks so, neither have I found it any where in holy writ; though I know that Paul saith, Rom. 5. 7. "Peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die." But it seems it was sufficient for Allen, if he could but render Leddra odious; who however continued *cheerful: for* as the executioner was putting

ıe halter about his neck, he was heard to say, I commit my righteous cause unto thee, O od." The executioners then being charged) make haste, W. Leddra at the turning of ıe ladder, cried, "Lord Jesus receive my spi- t;" and so he was turned off, and finished his ays. The hangman cut down the dead body, ıd lest it should be as barbarously used as ıose of William Robinson and Marmaduke tevenson (which none holding when cut down, ll to the ground to the breaking of W. Robin- ın's skull) Edward Wharton, John Camberlain, ıd others, caught the body in their arms, and id it on the ground, till the hangman had ripped it of its clothes; who having done so, id, that he was a comely man, as indeed he as. The body being stripped, William's iends took it, laid it in a coffin, and buried . For farther confirmation of what hath been lated, the following letter of one of the spec- tors, that was there accidentally, may be lded.

Boston, March 26, 1661.

"On the 14th of this instant, here was one 'illiam Leddra, which was put to death. The ıople of the town told me, he might go away he would: but when I made farther enquiry, heard the marshal say, that he was chained *prison, from the* time he was condemned, to

the day of his execution. I am not of his opinion: but yet truly methought the Lord did mightily appear in the man. I went to one of the magistrates of Cambridge, who had been on the jury that condemned him, (as he told me himself) and I asked him by what rule he did it? He answered me that he was a rogue, a very rogue. But what is this to the question, (I said) where is your rule? He said he had a Bused authority. Then I goes after the man, and asked him, whether he did not look on it as abreach of rule to slight and undervalue authority? and I said, that Paul gave Festus the title of honour, though he was a heathen. (I do not say these magistrates are heathens, I said then.) When the man was on the ladder, he looked on me, and called me friend, and said, know that this day I am willing to offer up my life for the witness of Jesus. Then I desired leave of the officers to speak, and said, Gentlemen, I am a stranger both to your persons and country, and yet a friend to both: and I cried aloud, for the Lord's sake, take not away the man's life; but remember Gamaliel's counsel to the Jews. If this be of man it will come to nought, but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it: but be careful ye be not found fighters against God. And the captain said, why had you not come to the prison? The reason was, because I heard, *man might* go if he would; and therefore I

called him down from the tree, and said, come down William, you may go away if you will. Then captain Oliver said, it was no such matter; and asked, what I had to do with it? And besides, bade me be gone: and I told them, I was willing; for I cannot endure to see this, I said. And when I was in the town, some did seem to sympathize with me in my grief. But I told them, that they had no warrant from the word of God, nor president from our country, nor power from his majesty, to hang the man. I rest,

Your friend,

"Thomas Wilkie."

To Mr. George Lad, master of
the America of Dartmouth,
now at Barbadoes.

William Leddra being thus dispatched, it was resolved to make an end also of Wenlock Christison. He therefore was brought from the prison to the court at Boston, where the governor John Endicot, and the deputy governor Richard Billingham, being both present, it was told him, "Unless you renounce your religion, you shall surely die." But instead of shrinking, he said with an undaunted courage, "Nay, I shall not change my religion, nor seek to save my life; neither do I intend to deny my Master; but if I lose my life for Christ's sake, and the preaching of the gospel, I shall save my life." This

noble resolution gave such a check to his persecutors, that they did not then go on with the trial, but sent him away to prison again. And it being said by somebody, that William Leddra was dead, a certain person said to Wenlock, "O thy turn is next." To which he gravely replied, "The will of the Lord be done," shewing thereby his entire resignation.

Being now locked up again in prison, he was kept there till about the fourth month: but then the court being set, a spirit of confusion appeared there, and a divison among several of the members; for though the greatest part were for taking the same course with us as with those that were already put to death, yet several would not consent to it. And as natural occurrences sometimes cause reflections among observing people, so it happened here; for during their deliberations how to deal with Wenlock Christison, which lasted for the space of two weeks, the sun in the firmament shone not, a thing at that season somewhat extraordinary; which gave occasion for some to say, that the sun abhorring this bloody business, hid itself from them. But after many debates, the sanguinary council at length agreed, and Wenlock was brought to the bar, where the governor, John Endicot asked him, what he had to say for himself, why he should not die? He answered, "*I have done* nothing worthy of death; if I

had, I refuse not to die." To this another said, "Thou art come in among us in rebellion, which is as the sin of witchcraft, and ought to be punished." Hence it appears how perversely these blood-thirsty persecutors applied the holy Scriptures to their cruel ends, and so made a wrong use of the prophet Samuel's words to Saul; to which false conclusion Wenlock answered, "I came not in among you in rebellion, but in obedience to the God of heaven, not in contempt to any of you, but in love to your souls and bodies; and that you shall know one day, when you and all men must give an account of the deeds done in the body. Take heed (thus he went on) for you cannot escape the righteous judgments of God." Then said major-general Adderton, "You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord God are not come upon us as yet." So insolent and hard hearted may man become, as not to stick even to defy the Most High. But before we draw the curtains of this stage, we shall see the tragical end of this adderton, who now received this answer from Wenlock: "Be not proud, neither let your spirits be lifted up; God doth but wait till the measure of your iniquity be filled up, and that you have run your *ungodly race*; then will the wrath of God come *upon you* to the uttermost. And as for thy

part, it hangs over thy head, and is near
poured down upon thee, and shall come
thief in the night suddenly, when thou thi
not of it."

Then Wenlock asked, "By what la
you put me to death?" The answer was,
have a law, and by our law you are to
"So said the Jews of Christ, (replied We
We have a law, and by our law he ou
die. "Who impowered you to make that
To which one of the board answered,
have a patent, and are the patentees;
whether we have not power to make
Hereupon Wenlock asked again, "How,
you power to make laws repugnant to th
of England?" "No," said the governor. "
(replied Wenlock) you are gone beyond
bounds, and have forfeited your patent
that is more than you can answer. Ar
(asked he) subjects to the king, yea, or
"What good will that do you," replie
secretary? "If you are (answered We
say so; for in your petition to the king
desire that he would protect you, and tha
may be worthy to kneel amongst his loya
jects." To which one said, "Yea, we ar
"Well (said Wenlock) so am I, and fo
thing I know, am as good as you, if not b
for if the king did but know your hea
God knows them, he would see that the

as rotten towards him, as they are towards God. Therefore seeing that you and I are subjects to the king, I demand to be tried by the laws of my own nation." It was answered, "You shall be tried by a bench and a jury:" for it seems they began to be afraid to go on in the former course of trial without a jury, this being contrary to the laws of England. But Wenlock said, "That is not the law, but the manner of it: for I never heard nor read of any law that was in England to hang Quakers." To this the governor replied, that there was a law to hang Jesuits. To which Wenlock returned, "If you put me to death, it is not because I go under the name of a Jesuit, but of a Quaker: therefore I appeal to the laws of my own nation." But instead of taking notice of this, one said, that he was in their hands, and had broken their law, and they would try him. Wenlock still appealed to the law of his own nation: yet the jury being called over, went out, but quickly returned, and brought him in guilty. Whereupon the secretary said, "Wenlock Christison, hold up your hand." "I will not, said Wenlock, I am here and can hear thee." Then the secretary cried, "Guilty or not guilty?" "I deny all guilt, replied Wenlock, for my conscience is clear in the sight of *God." But the* governor said, "The jury hath *condemned thee."* Wenlock answered, "The

Lord doth justify me; who art thou tha demnest?"

They then voted as to the sentence of but were in a manner confounded, for s could not vote him guilty of death. Th vernor seeing this division, said, "I coul in my heart to go home:" being in such a that he flung something furiously on the which made Wenlock cry, "It were bet thee to be at home than here, for thou art a bloody piece of work." Then the go put the court to vote again; but this wa confusedly, which so incensed the gov that he stood up and said, "You that w consent, record it: I thank God I am not to give judgment." Thus we see that drunk with blood, doth not quench the after blood; for Endicot the governor, others backward to vote, precipitately pro ced judgment himself, and said, "W Christison, hearken to your sentence: must return to the place from whence came, and from thence to the place of e tion, and there you must be hanged un are dead, dead, dead." To which W said, "The will of the Lord be done, in will I came amongst you, and in whose c I stand, feeling his eternal power, that w hold me unto the last gasp." Moreov *cried thus:* "Known be it unto you all

if ye have power to take my life from me, my soul shall enter into everlasting rest and peace with God, where you yourselves shall never come. And if ye have power to take my life from me, the which I do question, I do believe you shall never more take Quakers' lives from them: note my words; do not think to weary out the living God, by taking away the lives of his servants. What do you gain by it? for the last man that you have put to death, here are five come in his room. And if ye have power to take my life from me, God can raise up the same principle of life in ten of his servants, and send them among you in my room, that you may have torment upon torment, which is your portion; for there is no peace to the wicked, saith my God." The holy confidence with which he uttered these words shew, and the sequel made it appear plainly, that something supernatural was contained in them: and it is remarkable, that among the imprisoned Quakers, there were then several that had been banished on pain of death; and among these also Elizabeth Hooton; and Edward Wharton staid in his habitation contrary to his sentence of banishment.

Wenlock having received sentence of death, was brought to prison again, where having been *detained five days*, the marshal and a constable *came to him with* an order from the court for

his enlargement, with twenty-seven mor
friends, then in prison for their testi
the truth, saying they were ordered
court to make him acquainted with th
law. "What means this?" said W
"Have ye a new law?" "Yes," sai
"Then ye have deceived most peopl
Wenlock. "Why?" said they. "B
said he, "They did think the gallows h
your last weapon. Your magistrates s
your law was a good and wholesome la
for your peace, and the safeguard of yo
try. What, are your hands now becom
The power of God is over you all."

Thus the prison doors were open
Wenlock, with twenty-seven more of his
as aforesaid, set at liberty, save that
them, viz. Peter Pearson and Judith
being stripped to the waste, and faste
cart's tail, were whipped through the
Boston with twenty stripes each.

Now though not long after an ord
from the king, as will be said anon,
these persecutors were charged to de
putting the Quakers to death, yet it see
had got some scent of the king's disp
who had a mind to stop their bloody
for having got a book written by Ge
shop, containing a relation of the cruel
tion in New England, and reading a

concerning major-general Denison, who, to put off those that complained of their wicked proceedings, said, "This year ye will go to complain to the parliament, and the next year they will send to see how it is; and the third year the government is changed." He took much notice of this, and calling to the lords to hear it, said, "Lo, these are my good subjects of New England, but I will put a stop to them."

It was not long before an opportunity was offered; for the news of William Ledra's death being come into England, with an information of the danger that others were in of going the same way, their friends took it so to heart, especially Edward Burrough, that having got audience of the king, he said to him there was a vein of innocent blood opened in his dominions, which if it were not stopped would overrun all. To which the king replied, "But I will stop that vein." Then Burrough desired him to do it speedily; "for we know not," said he, "how many may soon be put to death." The king answered, "As soon as you will. Call (said he to some present) the secretary, and I will do it presently." The secretary being come, a mandamus was forthwith granted. A day or two after, going again to the king, to desire dispatch of the matter, the king said he had no *occasion* at present to send a ship thi-

ther: but if they would send one, they mig do it as soon as they could. E Burrough th asked the king if it would please him to gra his deputation to one called a Quaker to carr the mandamus to New England. The kin answered, "Yes, to whom you will." Where upon E. Burrough named one Samuel Shattock, who being an inhabitant of New England, was banished on pain of death, if ever he returned thither. And the king accordingly granted the deputation to him, with full power to carry the mandamus, which was as followeth:

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and well-beloved, we greet you well.—Having been informed that several of our subjects amongst you, called Quakers, have been, and are imprisoned by you, whereof some have been executed, and others (as hath been represented unto us) are in danger to undergo the like: we have thought fit to signify our pleasure in that behalf for the future; and do hereby require, that if there be any of those people called Quakers amongst you, now already comdemned to suffer death, or other corporal punishment, or that are imprisoned, and obnoxious to the like condemnation, you are to forbear to proceed any farther therein; but that you forthwith send the said persons (whether *condemned* or imprisoned) over into this our king-

m of England, together with the respective imes or offences laid to their charge; to the d that such course may be taken with them re, as shall be agreeable to our laws, and their merits. And for so doing, these our letters all be your sufficient warrant and discharge.

"Given at our court at Whitehall, the 9th day of September, 1661, in the 13th year of our reign.

"By his majesty's command,

"William Morris."

The superscription was:

our trusty and well-beloved John Endicot, esq. and to all and every other the governor or governors, of our plantations of New England, and of all the colonies thereunto belonging, that now are, or hereafter shall be; and to all and every the ministers and officers of our said plantations and colonies whatsoever, within the continent of New England."

Thus favourable the king manifested himself; id in England persecution for religion was a tle at a stand; *but it* was but a kind of respite.

G. Fox the younger, a man of excellent quali fications, and great boldness, foresaw an im minent storm; and lest any carelessness migh enter among his friends, in the fourth month h wrote the following exhortation to them:

"What my heavenly Father hath determine for these men to do, no man can stop it: O that patience might be abode in by all tha know his name, and his will submitted unto by them that he hath called. O be still, striv not, but drink the cup which our Father suffer eth to be given; I know it will be bitter t some; but whosoever striveth against it shal come to loss and shame: for the Lord will ye further try his people, till it be fully and clearl manifest who are the approved in his sight This he will certainly do; therefore let not th present calm beget a wrong security in any, fo lo the day hastens, and cometh swiftly, tha another storm must arise; and in vain will i be to fly to the tall cedars and strong oaks fo shelter; for nothing but the name of the Lor can preserve in that day.

"George Fox, the younger.

That this G. Fox did not reckon amiss, whe *in this exhortation* he said the day hastens tha *another storm* must arise, we shall see ere long

at first we must take a view of things in merica.

This mandamus to the rulers of New England eing obtained, as hath been said, quick dispatch as thought necessary to send it thither. And amuel Shattock being empowered by the king carry it, an agreement was made with one alph Goldsmith, who was master of a good ip, and also one of those called Quakers, for ree hundred pounds (goods or no goods) to ail in ten days. He then immediately made ll things ready to set sail, and with a prosperus gale arrived in about six weeks time before he town of Boston in New England upon a rst day of the week. The townsmen seeing ship come into the bay with English colours, oon came on board and asked for the captain. alph Goldsmith told them he was the commander. Then they asked him whether he had ny letters; and he said "Yes." Whereupon hey asked him if he would deliver them: but e said, "No, not to day." So they went shore, and reported there was a ship full of Quakers, and that Samuel Shattock was among hem, who they knew was by their law liable to e put to death, for coming again after banishment, but they knew not his errand nor uthority.

All being thus kept close, and none of the *hip's company* suffered to go ashore that day,

next morning Samuel Shattock, the king's deputy, and Ralph Goldsmith, the commander of the vessel, went on shore; and sending the men that landed them back to the ship, they two went through the town to the governor John Endicot's door, and knocked. He sending a man to know their business, they sent him word their business was from the king of England, and that they would deliver their message to none but the governor himself. Thereupon they were admitted and the governor came to them, and commanded Shattock's hat to be taken off, and having received the deputation and the mandamus, he laid off his hat: and ordering Shattock's hat to be given him again, he looked upon the papers, and then going out he went to the deputy governor, and bade the king's deputy and the master of the ship to follow him. Being come to the deputy governor, and having consulted with him about the matter, he returned to the two aforesaid persons, and said, "We shall obey his majesty's command." After this, the master of the ship gave liberty to the passengers to come ashore, which they did, and met together with their friends of the town, to offer up praises to God for this wonderful deliverance.

Now forasmuch as several of their friends were yet in prison in Boston, the following

order was given forth by the council not long after:

To William Salter, keeper of the prison in Boston.

"You are required by authority, and by order of the general court, forthwith to release and discharge the Quakers, who are at present in your custody. See that you do not neglect this.

"By order of the court,

Edward Rawson, secretary.'

Boston, 9th Dec. 1661.

They then consulted what to do that they might not incur the king's displeasure; and it was agreed to send a deputation to him. First, colonel Temple was sent to acquaint the king with their having set the Quakers at liberty; and he was followed not long after by the chief priest John Norton and Simon Broadstreet one of the magistrates.

The year was now spent: but before I conclude I must take notice, as a remarkable instance of the marvellous vicissitude of mundane affairs, that in the fore part of this year, the *body of O, Cromwell*, which had been buried

t state in Westminster Abbey, was
), as were also the bodies of Brad-
Ireton, which three corpses were
carts to Tyburn, and there hanged on
s. Then the executioner chopped off
stamped with his foot on the bodies,
e tumbled into a pit, dug near the
and the heads were exposed on the
stminster Hall, where I remember to
them. And that now befel Cromwell
said about seven years before in his
the parliament, as hath been men-
its due place, viz. That he would
rolled into the grave, and buried with
an give his consent to the throwing
of the fundamentals of that govern-
it, liberty of conscience. And yet he
persecution to go on, as hath been re-
rge: but now, according to his saying,
led with infamy into the grave; which
indeed for a remarkable instance of
and equal judgments of God.
his time a book came out in London,
ie title of Semper Idem [i. e. Always
| or a Parallel of fanaticks. The
icealed his name; but he made it suf-
ppear, that he was a papist, and it
jesuit: for he inveighed not only
e Quakers and Baptists, but also a-
Presbyterians, and even Episcopalians,

and consequently against all Protestants. Nay, the martyrs that were burnt inthe bloody reign of Queen Mary, eldest daughter to king Henry the Eighth, were no less vilified than the Quakers, in the said book, by the scornful names of rebels and fanaticks. This book was sold publicly, and it seemed that none durst oppose it, for fear of displeasing the court. But E. Burrough, who was of an undaunted courage, and so continued till his death, employed his pen to refute it, and gave forth his answer in print, plainly shewing what the anonymous author aimed at, viz. That he would have the cruel usage of fire and faggot revived, and wished to see the burning of reputed hereticks brought again into vogue. Which was the more to be taken notice of, because such a publication of vilifying the martyrs with calumnies, had not been seen in London for above an hundred years; and all the groundless positions of the said author were very notably answered by the said E. Burrough.

And since persecution in the latter end of this year began to appear with open face again, he published a book which he called Antichrist's Government justly detected. This he dedicated to all the rulers. &c. in the (so called) Christian world: and therein with sound arguments, manifested the unlawfulness and injustice of persecution and from whence it had its

rise; and how dangerous it was to impose religion.

Next he treated at large concerning heresy, and what punishment pertained to such as are truly convicted of it. But lest any might think that he was for opposing the duty of the civil magistrate against malefactors, he said concerning the punishment of heresy (which he stated to be only an ecclesiastical censure) that he only intended this, where the error of a man and his heresy in his mind and judgment, did only extend to the hurt of his own soul, and against God, and not to the hurt of his neighbour's person or estate. But (thus continued he) if his error and heresy do extend farther than only against God and his own soul, even to outward wrongs or evils, or violence, or visible mischiefs committed, as murders, or other such like crimes against men, to the injuring of others, then I forbid no outward punishment, to be corporally inflicted on the person and estate of such a man; but it ought to be done, and that by the laws of men, provided for the same end; even such a man's error in such his wrong dealing, may justly and lawfully be punished according to the desert of the crime, &c. The author also wrote circumstantially concerning the government of Antichrist, and shewed the deceit that was in it, and who were the subjects *of his kingdom.*

It was somewhat before this time that George Fox the younger, being a prisoner, and seeing an intent of promoting popery, wrote the following letter to the king:

"The King of kings hath beheld, yea, the King of kings hath seen even all thy actings in the dark, and he hath traced thy walking in obscure places: and thou hast not hid thy counsels from the Almighty, but he hath seen all the intents of thy heart, and thy good words have not at all deceived him, nor those that purely stood in his counsels; for he hath seen the snares, and beheld the pits which privily have been preparing for the innocent, (even in the time when smooth words have been given) and he hath shewed them unto others: Oh! that thou wouldest have taken counsel of the Lord, and obeyed the same, thou shouldst have been prospered; but thou hast taken council of them which have caused thee to err: thou hast also sought to exalt and establish thyself, and thy own honour, and not the truth and honour of God only; which if thou hadst truly done (in the self-denial) God would have honoured thee: thou hast not taken the Lord for thy strength and stay, but thou hast leaned to that which cannot help thee, even to that which will prove a broken reed *unto thee*, if thou comest to prove *its strength*. *Thou* hast greatly dishonoured

and grieved the Lord, by thy setting up ministers which he loathes, and by thy providing a forced maintenance for them by an unjust law, that so they may yet make a prey upon his people, who for conscience-sake cannot put into their mouths, being spiritually gathered therefrom by the word of the Lord. Thou hast also grieved the Spirit of the Lord, in that thou hast not put a difference betwixt that which the Spirit of the Lord moved, and that which is moved by the evil lusts of men; and hereby thou hast justified that which God hath condemned, and condemned that which he hath justified, and will justify in the sight of his enemies. O, friend! it is not the person of any man which the Lord regards, but it is righteousness which he hath respect to, and so far as man (whatever he may be) by the drawing of the truth comes into righteousness, and acts therein, so far hath the Lord unity with him, and no farther; these things should have been considered by thee. Thou hast also grieved the Holy Ghost by thy suffering all these wicked and profane shews and sports (which have abounded since thy coming in) by which the Lord's good creatures have been abused, wasted, and devoured. Thou hast highly displeased the Lord God, by thy suffering persecution to be *acted in thy* name, even whilst thou in words *hast promised* liberty; yea many are this day in

holes and prisons, for the testimony of a good conscience, and obeying the doctrines of Christ. Oh! the Lord is grieved with the pride and wickedness that is lived in, both in thy family and dominions, and thou thyself hast not been such a pattern and example amongst them as thou oughtest to have been. O, friend! when I behold the wickedness, cruelty, and oppression that abounds in this nation in open view, and also the secret abominations which are committed, and are plotting and lurking in the chambers; verily my life is even bowed down because of the fierce wrath of the Almighty, which I see is kindled; and because of the great destruction which I see attends the wicked, whose ends and counsels the Lord will frustrate, and upon whom he will pour out everlasting contempt: yea, and it hath been oft in me, before thou camest last into the land, and also since, even when it hath been shewn me, what idolatry is intended in secret to be brought in, that certainly it had been better for thee that thou hadst never come, for I have seen it tending to thy destruction. And when I have seen the abomination and cruelties which are committed and intended, there hath a pity arose in me towards thee for thy soul's sake; and it hath been my desire, if it might stand with the will of God, that he would put it into thy heart to go out of the land *again, that so* thy life might be preserved,

and that thou mighest have time to repent; for although many men flatter and applaud thee for self ends yet I see the Lord is displeased with thy ways. Let no man deceive thee by feigned words; God will not be mocked: such as thou sowest, such must thou reap. Thou canst not hide thyself from the Lord, nor deliver thyself from the stroke of his hand: O consider, how soon hath the Lord taken away thy brother, who, according to outward appearance, might have lived longer than thee! O, think not that men can preserve thee, though all the nations about promise to help thee! Yet when the Lord appears against thee, thou must fall; verily there is a great desolation near, thy hand cannot stay it; God hath decreed that he may exalt his own kingdom: the nations are like a boiling pot, a little flame will set them on fire; and the windy doctrine of the priests shall help to kindle it; Oh the day will be terrible, who may abide it? The stubble will be consumed, and the chaff shall be burned; the ungodly shall be abased, for they cannot stand in judgment; but the seed shall be exalted. O what shall I say that might be for thy safety! Verily I can say little, the Lord's decree must stand, the Lord is highly displeased, and his wrath is near to be revealed: and he is swift in his goings, and he will shorten the days of his enemies for his *elect's sake*. O that thy soul might be saved in

the day of the Lord! My spirit is in suffering for thee, my soul is afflicted within me because of the approachings of the day of thy calamity, from which no man can deliver thee. This is the truth that must stand, and in love to thy soul it is declared, by him who must deal uprightly with all men: though for it I suffer outwardly, yet I have a witness in thy conscience, unto which I am made manifest; and peace with the Lord is my portion, which is better than an earthly crown."

"George Fox, the younger."

This was given him the 9th day of the 8th month, 1660.

This letter (a clear evidence of the author's innocent courage) was delivered to the king, who read it, and seemed to be reached thereby, and touched at the heart: but his brother, the Duke of York, was displeased with it, and being violently set against the author, advised the king to use severity towards him; but the king being good-natured, said, "It were better for us to mend our lives."

Whilst the said George Fox was prisoner in, Lambeth House he wrote also a small treatise called "England's sad Estate and Condition lamented." Herein he reproved the grievous abominations committed among the inhabitan-

oppression by persecutions, and the hypocrisy of the priests. He also predicted the pestilence, as may be mentioned hereafter in its due place; and signified not obscurely, that endeavours would be used publicly to introduce superstition and idolatry; but that those who intended to do so, should be frustrated by the Lord in their attempts. And that others, whose worship did also displease the Lord, should grind and waste one another: but that beyond their expectation, he would pluck out from them a holy seed. And that after he should have executed his vengeance upon the rebellious and treacherous dealers, he would then bring forth the remnant of his holy seed, which should be preserved from their fury; and then they should spread over all, and stand in dominion. "But," thus continued he, "although these things touching the holy remnant, shall certainly be fulfilled in their season, yet before they will be fully accomplished, great will be the trials of many of the righteous, and there will be great judgments executed in thee, O land, by him, who oftimes maketh a fruitful land barren, because of the wickedness of them that dwell therein." This, and much more he wrote, and published it in print. Several of his predictions we have seen fulfilled, as in the progress of this history may appear; and this last we must refer to time.

After the writing of this treatise, he also gave forth the following prayer.

"Surely it was thou, O Lord, that gave bounds unto the sea, that the floods thereof could not overwhelm thy chosen: thou canst let forth the winds and suffer a storm; and thou canst make a calm when thou pleasest. Have thou the glory of all, thou King of saints, thou Saviour of Israel. Thou canst do whatsoever thou pleasest, therefore will we trust in thy name, neither will we fear what man can do unto us, because thou wilt not forsake us: but thou wilt plead our cause in the sight of our adversaries, and they shall know that thou art our God, who art able to save to the uttermost. O Lord, our righteousness, we will praise thy name; for thy mercies endure for ever. Our eyes, O God, are unto thee, for we have no other helper. Our faith, O Lord, standeth in thee, who canst not forget thy people. Thou hast revealed and brought up Jacob, who wrestleth with thee and prevails as a prince, therefore must the blessing come. O Lord, the birth, crieth unto thee, thine own elect, which long hath been oppressed. Thou canst not deny thyself, therefore have we faith and hope, which maketh not ashamed. O Lord, how unsearchable are thy ways! thou hast even amazed thy people with the depth of thy wisdom; the

ıve the glory of their deliverance;
e hast thou suffered these things to
ı. O Lord, thou art righteous in
ɡments: only preserve thy people
hast gathered, and wilt gather unto
the day of trial: that so they may
power, and magnify thy name in the
living."

Fox wrote also in prison several
's and epistles, for the exhortation
tion of his friends: but his work was
so that not long after he departed
ıich was in this, or the next year.
may be seen from his writings, a
aordinary resignation and courage;
gave up his life, if required, may
n a small book he wrote, when a
Lambeth House, which is called
l of God's Power uttering its Voice
n unto the Heads of the Nation."
xhorted the rulers very earnestly to
ınd said amongst the rest, "Friends,
plainly with you in the sight of God,
ade me a prophet to the nation. I
tter any of you. My life is in the
y Maker, and not one hair of my
ll to the ground without his provi-
hath redeemed my soul from hell,
d from the earth; and he hath given

his good Spirit to lead me. I am henceforth no more my own, but I am the Lord's, who hath formed me to his praise, and hath brought me forth, that I may sound his powerful truth amongst the people. Therefore must I not fear man, neither must I be afraid of the sons of men."

Thus undaunted he shewed himself: but it was not long before he made his exit, of which I cannot but say something. In his sickness I find, that though he was weak in body, yet he was strong in spirit, so that he would even sing for joy of heart. He exhorted his friends to keep in unity, foreseeing (it may be) that something would rise which might give occasion of division: and then with much fervency of spirit he prayed God, and exhorted his friends, to keep their garments unspotted of the world, because great was the day of trial that was at hand. Afterwards recommending them to the Lord, he took his leave of them, and slept in perfect peace with the Lord, being of sound memory to the last. Now the dust was returned to the earth, and the spirit unto God who gave it. Thus he was freed from all danger of losing the crown of immortal life, which man by temptation, and the casualties of this life is liable unto, if he continueth not diligently watchful. But this valiant was *now beyond* the reach of all temptation,

and so I leave him, that I may pass on to other matters.

In this year E. Burrough wrote a paper to the king and his council, which he called, "A Just and Righteous Plea," in which he proposed at large, the reasons why the people called Quakers, refused to take the oath of allegiance, viz. That it was not because they would not be faithful to the king, but only for conscience-sake since Christ so expressly had commanded his followers, "Swear not at all," which command they durst not transgress. Yet to assure the government of their faithfulness, he said thus:

"We are now, and shall be faithful, innocent and peaceable, in our several stations and conditions, under this present government of King Charles the Second, whom we acknowledge supreme magistrate and governor over this kingdom; and for conscience-sake we are obedient and submissive to him, as such, in all his commands, either by doing and performing of what he justly requireth, or by patient suffering under whatsoever is inflicted upon us, in the matters for which we cannot be obedient for conscience-sake, when any thing is required of us different from the just law of God. And to this subjection, to the king and his government, we are bound by the law of righteousness; and such hath ever been our principle and practice, and is unto this day, even to be quiet, and

peaceable, and patient, under every authority that is set over us; and not in unrighteousness, to plot, or contrive, or rebel, against any government, or governors, nor to seek our own deliverance from injustice and oppression in such a way. And we are persuaded to seek the preservation of the king's person and authority, by all just and lawful means, and not to rebel against him with carnal weapons; and so far as his government is in justice, mercy and righteousness, we declare true and faithful subjection and obedience thereunto; and wherein it is otherwise, we shall be subject by patient suffering to what is unequally imposed upon us, and yet not rebel in any turbulent way of conspiracies and insurrections: for our principles are not for war, but for peace with all men so much as in us lies; neither may we render evil for evil to any, but are to be subject to the king and his government, actively or passively, upon the conditions aforementioned.

"And we renounce all foreign authority, power, and jurisdiction of the Pope, or any else, from having any supremacy whatsoever over the king, or any of the good subjects of England. And this we declare, acknowledge, and testify, in the fear and presence of God, (to whom we and all mankind must give an account) and that without secret equivocation, or any deceitful *mental reservation.*"

s fully E. Burrough declared himself,
.ve also a circumstantial relation of the
:e of his friends meeting together, or their
f public worship, thereby to assure the
ıment of their peaceable behaviour and
/. But all this proved in vain; for it
well known that the Quakers denied
ing, they were vexed and persecuted,
a pretence of not giving due satisfaction
ir being faithful to the government, and so
ressing the laws.

w the deputies of New England came to
ın, and endeavoured to clear themselves
ch as possible, but especially priest Nor-
ho bowed no less reverently before the
ishop, than before the king; and thus
ıg upon the Episcopalians, they found
to keep in a condition to vex the Qua-
so called, though they were forbidden to
ıem to death: and that many of the bish-
ere great enemies to the said Quakers,
red plainly from the cruel persecution
after the short calm arose in England.
: to return to the New-England deputies,
vould fain have altogether excused them-
; and priest Norton thought it sufficient
, that he did not assist in the bloody trial,
ad advised to it: but John Copeland,
car was cut off at Boston, charged the

contrary upon him: and G. Fox, the elder, got occasion to speak with them in the presence of some of his friends; and asked Simon Broadstreet, one of the New-England magistrates, whether he had not a hand in putting to death, those they nick-named Quakers? He not being able to deny this, confessed he had. Then G. Fox asked him and his associates that were present, whether they would acknowledge themselves to be subjects to the laws of England? and if they did, by what laws they put his friends to death? They answered, they were subjects to the laws of England; and they had put his friends to death by the same law, as the Jesuits were put to death in England. Hereupon G. Fox asked, whether they did believe that those his friends, whom they had put to death, were Jesuits, or jesuitically affected? They said Nay. Then replied G. Fox, "Ye have murdered them; for since ye put them to death by the law that the Jesuits are put to death here in England, it plainly appears, you have put them to death arbitrarily, without any law." Thus Broadstreet finding himself and his company ensnared by their own words, asked, "Are you come to catch us?" But he told them, they had caught themselves, and they might justly be questioned for their lives; and if the father of William Robinson, (one of those that were *put to death)* were in town, it was probable he

would question them, and bring their lives into jeopardy: for he not being of the Quakers persuasion, would perhaps not have so much regard to the point of forbearance, as they had. Broadstreet seeing himself thus in danger, began to flinch and to skulk; for some of the old royalists were earnest with the Quakers to prosecute the New-England persecutors. But G. Fox and his friends said, they left them to the Lord, to whom vengeance belonged, and he would repay it. Broadstreet however, not thinking it safe to stay in England, left the city, and with his companions went back again to New-England.

Not long before this time, G. Fox, with the help of John Stubbs and Benjamin Furly, published a book, called, "A Battledoor." In this book were set forth examples of about thirty languages, to shew that every language had its particular denomination for the singular and the plural number, in speaking to persons; and in every page where the description began, the shape of a battledoor was delineated. This work was exhibited to public view by G. Fox, to shew the learned (if possible to convince them) that the custom of those called Quakers, to say Thou to a single person, though it were to the king, and not You, was not irregular nor absurd, but had been used anciently; and that therefore they could not justly be charged with *ill manners*, because they followed not the cus-

tom, which was crept in by the pride of men. Now though Ger. Groese doth disapprove that G. Fox, should put his name to this book as well as J. Stubbs and B. Furly, yet I do not think it so improper as the said author doth; for G. Fox was a great promoter of that work; and though he was not skilled in languages, and some were for calling him an idiot, or a fool, yet I know him to have been a man of good understanding, and of deep judgment. In his journal he freely owns, that John Stubbs and Benjamin Furly took great pains in the compiling of the said book, which he put them upon, and added also some things to it; so that in some respects he might be esteemed author too. At the end of the book he added:

"The Pope set up [You] to [One] in his pride, and it is pride which cannot bear Thou and Thee to one, but would have you, from the author of and their father in their pride, which must not have the word Thou, which was before their father the Pope was, which was God's language, and will stand when the Pope is ended."

"G. F."

his book (in which J. Stubbs and B. Furly also directions for learners to read the ew, Oriental, and other languages) was *lly disposed of*; some of them were pre-

to the king and his council, to the arch-
of Canterbury, and to the bishop of
ı, and also one to each university. The
:onfessed that the distinction between
and singular, in regard of persons, was
oper language of all nations; and the
ıhop being asked what he thought of it,
ɔ at a stand, that he could not tell what
to it: for it appears he would not com-
it, neither could he resolve to disapprove
et it did so inform and convince people,
nany afterward were not near so much
:d at saying thou and thee to a single
, as they were before.

r many Papists and Jesuits began to fawn
those called Quakers, and said publicly,
all the sects the Quakers were the best,
ost self-denying people; and that it was
pity that they did not return to holy
r church: and though they might have
n hopes thereby to have gained proselytes
he Quakers, yet they were disappointed.
e mean while they did but ill service to
luakers thereby; for this gave occasion
ir enemies to divulge, that there was an
y and collusion between the Quakers and
ıpists. Some Jesuits signifying that they
willingly discourse with the Quakers,
ɛ consented to it, and in order thereunto,
and place were appointed; whereupon

two of the loyalists came, being dressed like courtiers, and they asked the names of G. Fox and those with him. G. Fox then asked them the same question he had once before (as hath been said already) asked a Jesuit, viz. Whether the church of Rome was not degenerated from the church in the primitive times; from the spirit, and power, and practice that they were in, in the apostles time. The Jesuit, to whom the question was put, said, he would not answer it. G. Fox asked him, why? but he would give no reason. Then G. Fox asked the other, whether he was of the same mind? and he said, "Yes?" G. Fox to give no room to any excuses of a mistake, repeated his question thus: Whether the church of Rome now was in the same purity, practice, power, and spirit, that the church in the apostles' time was in. The Jesuits seeing how exact G. Fox would be with them, said, it was presumption in any to say, they had the same power and spirit which the apostles had. But G. Fox told them, it was presumption in them to meddle with the words of Christ and his apostles, and make people believe they succeeded the apostles, and yet be forced to confess, they were not in the same power and spirit, that the apostles were in. "This," said he, "is a spirit of presumption, and rebuked by the apostles' spirit." Thereupon he shewed them, how different

their fruits and practices were from the fruits and practices of the apostles. This so displeased the Jesuits, that one of them said, "Ye are a company of dreamers." "Nay," said G. Fox, "Ye are the dreamers, who dream ye are the apostles, successors, and yet confess, ye have not the same power and spirit, which the apostles were in." Then he began to tell them also, how they were led by an evil spirit; and that this spirit had induced them to pray by beads, and to images, and to put people to death for religion. He spoke yet more; but the Jesuits soon grew weary of this discourse, and went away, giving charge afterwards to those of their persuasion, not to dispute with the Quakers, nor to read any of their books.

Some time after G. Fox went to Colchester, where he had very large meetings. From thence he went to Coggeshall; not far from which, there was a priest convinced of the truth of the doctrine held forth by him and his friends; and he had a meeting in his house. And after having visited his friends in their meetings thereabouts, he returned to London, where he found more work: for John Perrot, of whom mention hath been made already that he was at Rome, had so far complied with his vain imaginations, that he thought himself farther enlightened than G. Fox, and his friends; *and from* this presumption he would not approve,

that when any one prayed in a meeting, others should put off their hats, calling this a formality, and a common custom of the world, which ought to be departed from. And since novelties often draw people after them, so it was in this case insomuch, that he got a pretty many adherents. But he did not stand here; for as one error proceeds from another, so he made another extravagant step, and let his beard grow; in which he was followed by some. In the meanwhile G. Fox laboured both by word and writing, to stop his progress: and though most of his friends also bore testimony against it, yet there passed several years before this strange fire was altogether extinguished: to the quenching whereof, it contributed not a little that Perrot, who now walked in an erroneous path, grew worse from time to time, even to that degree, that being come into America, he fell into manifest sensualities, and works of the flesh: for he not only wore gaudy apparel, but also a sword; and being got into some place in the government, he became a severe exactor of oaths, whereas before he had professed that for conscience-sake he could not swear. Before I leave Perrot, I will insert here a letter wrote by him from Rome, when he was released from prison: and though I believe he was then in a better state than afterward, *yet in that letter* some sparks of spiritual

pride may be seen, which though then under some limitation, yet in process of time so broke forth, that it caused his fall. The letter was thus:

"O Israel; the host of the most high God; his majesty hath fulfilled to me the vision of my head, having shewed himself to be the Holy One, and Just: he hath lately delivered me from the prison of the city of Rome, besides the two lambs with me, whose faces, through God, are turned to youwards: for which I beseech you in the holy spirit of meekness, to bless the name of the Lord God. Give thanks to him for his power. The God of life promote you all in the virtue of his mercy and forgiveness, and keep you in the power of his everlasting love, unto the end.

"JOHN."

Written to you all without the gates of Rome, the 2d day of the 4th month, 1661.

Send this forward and read my life in your meetings.

He added not his sirname, in imitation (as it seems) of the apostle John. He omitted it likewise in another letter he wrote from the prison at Rome, which began thus:

"*I John* the prisoner, being in the sense of *the Spirit of* life with you all," &c.

Who were the two lambs he mentions in his letter, I cannot tell; whether they were persons that had been imprisoned with him in the inquisition jail, and converted by him, as he thought; or whether he meant John Stubbs and Samuel Fisher, I know not; it may rather be supposed that he meant Charles Bayley and Jane Stoakes, who went to Rome to procure his liberty; but J. Stubbs and S. Fisher came away long before; yet if I am not mistaken, it was about this time that these were at Rome, and they perhaps having endeavoured to obtain his liberty, departed before him towards England.

When Perrot afterward lived in America, about the beginning of the year 1665, John Taylor wrote thus from Jamaica concerning him.

"One of the judges of this place told me, that he never had seen one who so severely exacted an oath from people as John Perrot did: for he saith, that if they will go to hell, he will dispatch them quickly. And another judge that was also present, said, that Perrot had altogether renounced his faith, and aimed at nothing but his profit."

Such a one was John Perrot, though even some wise men admired him for a time; but he *became a man of* a rough behaviour. Whe-

ther he ever repented sincerely, I cannot tell. Robert Rich, who took too much part in the extravagancies of James Naylor, as hath been related, did also combine with Perrot, and became estranged from the Quakers, and in that condition he died: but he was of the number of those, of whom the apostle John said, "They went out from us, but they were not of us."

Now since persecution continued in England, Edward Burrough, who continually was laborious with the pen to oppose this evil, wrote also a small book, which he called, "The Case of Free Liberty of Conscience in the Exercise of Faith and Religion, presented unto the King and both Houses of parliament." In this treatise he shewed, that to deprive honest and peaceable people of liberty of conscience in the exercise of worship to God, was unjust, and intrenching on God's sovereignty, and an usurpation of his authority. He also recommended it to consideration, that to impose by force a religion upon men, was the way to fill the land with hypocrites. And he shewed with sound reasons, to persecute people for the exercise of religion and their worshipping of God, must unavoidably tend to destroy trading, husbandry, and merchandize. To which he added, that such as were called hereticks were punished as malefactors, whereas drunkards *and other* vicious persons were left unpunished;

which to inculcate with more strength, he made use of the words of Dr. Taylor, a bishop in Ireland, who said thus: "Why are we so zealous against those we call hereticks, and yet great friends with drunkards, and swearers, and fornicators, and intemperate and idle persons? I am certain a drunkard is as contrary to the laws of Christianity as an heretick: and I am also sure that I know what drunkenness is; but I am not so sure that such an opinion is heresy," &c.

It happened about this time in England that some covetous persons, to engross inheritances to themselves, would call the marriages of those called Quakers in question. And it was in this year that such a cause was tried at the assizes at Nottingham. A certain man dying, and leaving his wife with child, and an estate in copyhold lands: when the woman was delivered, one that was near of kin to her deceased husband, endeavoured to prove the child illegitimate: and the plaintiff's counsel willing to blacken the Quakers, so called asserted the child to be illegitimate, because the marriage of its parents was not according to law; and said bluntly, and very indecently, that the Quakers went together like brute beasts. After the counsel on both sides had pleaded, the judge, whose name was ——— Archer, opened the case to the jury, and told them, that there was a marriage in Paradise, *when* Adam took Eve, and Eve took

Adam; and that it was the consent of the parties that made a marriage And as for the Quakers, said he, he did not know their opinion; but he did not believe they went together as brute beasts, as had been said of them, but as Christians; and therefore he did believe the marriage was lawful, and the child lawful heir. And the better to satisfy the jury, he related to them this case. "A man that was weak of body, and kept his bed, had a desire in that condition to marry, and did declare before witnesses that he did take such a woman to be his wife; and the woman declared, that she took that man to be her husband. This marriage was afterwards called in question: but all the bishops did at that time conclude it to be a lawful marriage." The jury having received this instruction, gave in their verdict for the child, and declared it legitimate.

It hath been mentioned before, that G. Fox being prisoner at Derby in the year 1650, was exceedingly vexed and ill-treated by the keeper of the prison. But this man being struck with the terrors of the Lord, became such a notable convert, that in the year 1662 he wrote the following letter to G. Fox:

"Dear Friend,

"Having such a convenient messenger, I *could do* no less than give thee an account of my

present condition, remembering that to the first awakening of me to a sense of life, and of the inward principle, God was pleased to make use of thee as an instrument; so that sometimes I am taken with admiration, that it should come by such means as it did; that is to say, that Providence should order thee to be my prisoner to give me my first real sight of the Truth. It makes me many times to think of the gaoler's conversion by the apostles. Notwithstanding my outward losses are since that time such, that I am become nothing in the world, yet I hope I shall find, that all these light afflictions, which are but for a moment, will work for me a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory. They have taken all from me; and now instead of keeping a prison, I am rather waiting when I shall become a prisoner myself. Pray for me, that my faith fail not, but that I may hold out to the death, that I may receive a crown of life. I earnestly desire to hear from thee, and of thy condition which would very much rejoice me. Not having else at present, but my kind love unto thee, and all Christian friends with thee, in haste I rest

"Thine in Christ Jesus,
"Thomas Sharman."

Derby, the 22nd of the 4th month, 1662

I have heretofore made some mention of the imprisonment of Catharine Evans, and Sarah Cheevers, by the inquisition at Malta. It was about this time that they were released: for G. Fox and Gilbert Latey, having understood that the lord d'Aubigny could procure their liberty, went to him, and having informed him concerning their imprisonment, desired him to write to those in authority at Malta for their release. This he promised to do, and told them if they would come again within a month, perhaps they might hear of their discharge. They went again to him about that time, but he said he thought his letters had miscarried; yet he promised he would write again, and so he did; which had such effect, that the said two women were discharged of their imprisonment. G. Fox had now opportunity to reason with this lord, (who was a Roman Catholic priest in orders) about religion, and he brought him to confess, that Christ had enlightened every man that cometh into the world with his spiritual light; and that he had tasted death for every man; and that the grace of God, which brings salvation, hath appeared unto all men; and that it would teach them, and bring them salvation if they did obey it. Then G. Fox asked him what the Romanists would do with all their relicks and images, if they did own and believe in this light, and *receive* the grace to teach them, and bring their

on? And he answered, those things were
licies to keep people in subjection.
leaving these discourses, I will now give
and circumstantial relation of the impri-
at of the fore-mentioned Catharine Evans,
rah Cheevers, chiefly collected from let-
d papers, written by them in prison, and
om thence to England, where they were
hed in print not long after their return, in
ir 1662.
he year 1658, these women having draw-
their mind to travel towards Alexandria,
a ship from England to Leghorn in Italy;
ving been thirty one days between Ply-
and Leghorn, they at length safely land-
hat city: where they found some of their
ymen and friends, and staid there several
dispersing many books when occasion
l. They spoke also with people of various
s, without being molested by any. From
they got passage in a Dutch ship bound
exandria, or Scanderoon; but the master
ship, being in company with another ship
to Malta, went also thither, though he had
siness in the place: but before they came
Catharine fell into such an anguish of
that she cried out, "Oh! we have a
ful cup to drink at that place!" Being
into the harbour, and standing on the deck
ship, and looking upon the people who

stood on the walls, she said in her heart, "Shall ye destroy us? If we give up to the Lord, then he is sufficient to deliver us out of your hands: but if we disobey our God, all these could not deliver us out of his hand." And so all fear of man was taken from them.

The next day being the first day of the week, they went on shore, where the English consul met them, and asked them what they came there for; they answered what they thought convenient, and gave him some books. Then he told them there was an inquisition; and kindly inviting them to his house, said all that he had was at their service while they were there. They accepting of the invitation, went thither, and many came to see them, whom they called to repentance, so that several became tender. About night they went on ship-board, and the next day came again into the city, and going to the governor, he told them he had a sister in the nunnery who desired to see them. Thereupon they went to the nunnery, and talked with the nuns, and gave them some books: and one of their priests, who brought them into the chapel, would have them bow to the high altar, but they refused, being grieved because of the idolatry committed there, and went to the consul's again, where they staid some weeks. During that time, they once went into one of the places of worship in the time of worship; and Catha-

rine standing in the midst of the people, turned her back to the high altar, and kneeling down, she lifted up her voice in prayer to the Lord. The priest that officiated, put off his surplice, and kneeled near her till she had done. Then he reached forth his hand to them to come to him and offered her a token, which she taking to be the mark of the beast, refused. Thereupon he put the piece into Sarah's hand, but she gave it him again, and shewed him her purse that she had to give, if any had need, and as yet was in no want. He then asked if they were Calvinists or Lutherans? and they answered, Nay; he asked, if they would go to Rome, to the Pope. They denying this, he asked if they were Catholics: to which they said they were true Christians, servants of the living God. But since they had yet learned but little of the language spoken there, they expressed themselves very defectively; what they did, was partly in words and partly by signs, as well as they could; and many that came about them were amazed; however at last they went again to a mass house, where the sacrament, as they called it, was administered: there were many lights, and great costliness and fineries; and being grieved because of their idolatry, they stood about three quarters of an hour, weeping and trembling, especially Catharine: and this so struck the congregation with amazement

that some removed farther from them for fear At length they both went out, but yet under such a trembling, that they went along the street reeling and staggering, so that they became a wonder to all that saw them.

They were about three months at the house of the English consul; and he, for that reason, being under a suspicion, did not do what he might have done to save them; but in some respects he delivered them up to the inquisition, though by his oath he was obliged to protect the English there. In the mean-while he kept them in his house, and suffered them not to go abroad, though the governor had told him he might let them go about their business; for, said he, "They are honest women." The consul might also have let them go free, before they came under the power of the black rod. Now they perceiving that something to their prejudice was in agitation; and making account already that a prison would be their lot, they signified that they suspected him, and told him, that Pilate would do the Jews a service, and yet wash his hands in innocency. He being at a loss, required a sign of them, if they were the messengers of God. And they gave him to understand, that this might serve for a sign: that it would be well with them; but that it should not go off well with him.

Afterwards it happened that they were sent

for by the inquisition: and that day the consul's wife brought them some victuals; but as she passed by, Catharine was smitten, as with an arrow, to the heart, and she seemed to hear a voice, saying, She hath obtained her purpose. Then Catharine would not taste of the meat, but went aside, and wept exceedingly. The consul having called her, told her, the inquisition had sent for them, having received letters from Rome, but that he did hope they should be set free: which however was not true, for he knew (as they understood afterwards) there was a room prepared for them in the prison of the inquisition. Neither was it long ere there came the chancellor, the consul, and one with a black rod, who brought them before the lord inquisitor; and he asked them whether they had changed their minds; (for it seems that had been required of them before.) But they answered, "No," and that they should not change from the truth. Then he asked what new light it was they talked of. They answered, it was no new light, but the same the prophets and apostles bore testimony to. Next he asked how this light came to be lost since the primitive times: They replied, it was not lost; men had it still in them, but they did not know it, by reason that the night of apostacy had overspread the nations. Then he said, if they *would change* their minds, and do as they

would have them, they should say so, or else they would use them as they pleased. But they, signifying that they would not change, said, "The will of the Lord be done." He then arose, and went away with the consul, leaving them there: and the man with the black rod, and the keeper, took and put them into an inner room in the inquisition, which had only two little holes in it for light and air. This place was so exceeding hot, that it seemed as if their intent was to stifle them, as we may see in the sequel.

Not long after they were brought before the inquisitors to be farther examined, and they not only asked their names, but also the names of their husbands and parents, and what children they had, and also, why they came thither? To which they answered, they were servants of the living God, come there to call them to repentance. The next day they were called again, but then examined asunder; and Sarah being asked whether she was a true Catholic, said, that she was a true Christian, worshipping God in spirit and in truth. Then they held forth a crucifix to her, and would have her swear that she should speak the truth. To which she said, she should speak the truth, but she would not swear; for Christ had commanded, "Swear not all." The English consul who was present, endeavoured to persuade her to

swear, and said that none should do her any harm. She having some books with her, they were taken from her; and they asked her, wherefore she brought those books: to which she answered, because they could not speak their language. Then they asked her, what George Fox was? She answered, "A minister." Farther he asked, wherefore she came thither? And she replied, to do the will of God as she was moved of the Lord. The next question was, how the Lord did appear unto her: to which she answered, "By his Spirit." And being asked whether she did see his presence, and hear his voice: her answer was, she heard his voice, and saw his presence. They then asked what he said to her? She answered, that he required of her to go over the seas to do his will. This made them ask how she knew it was Lord who required this of her? To which she answered, that since he had signified to her, that his living presence should go along with her, she found him to perform his promise, for she did feel his living presence. After this they went away.

Two days after the inquisitors came and called for Catharine, and offering her the crucifix, they told her, the magistrates commanded her *to swear that* she should speak the truth. To *which she said,* that she should speak the truth, *r she was* a witness for God; but she should

not swear; since a greater than the magistrates said, "Swear not all: but let your yea, be yea, and your nay, nay; for whatsoever is more cometh of evil." Then said they, "You must obey the justice; and he commands you to swear." She returned, "I shall obey justice, but if I should swear, I should do an unjust thing; for the just (Christ) said, Swear not at all." Then they asked her, whether she did own that Christ that died at Jerusalem: she answered, "We own the same Christ and no other; he is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever." Next they asked her, what she would do at Jerusalem; she answered, she did not know that she should go thither; but she intended to have gone to Alexandria. They asked what to do: her answer was, "The will of God: and (said she) if the Lord opened my mouth, I should call people to repentance, and declare to them the day of the Lord, and direct their minds from darkness to light." They asked her also, whether she did see the Lord: she answered, "God was a spirit, and he was spiritually discerned."

Now though from the answers of these women little could be got to blame them, yet they were kept close prisoners, which seemed to grieve the English consul, for he came to them *with tears* in his eyes, and said he was sorry *as for his own* flesh: for it seems he had re-



ceived something for delivering them up, which he would willingly have given back, if thereby he could have obtained their liberty: but a slavish fear possessed him, and he never had peace while he lived. Some days after this came a magistrate, two friars, the man with the black rod, a scribe, and the keeper of the inquisition to examine them; and they were again required to swear: but they answered as before, that Christ said, "Swear not at all;" and that the apostle James gave the same charge. Hereupon the magistrates asked if they would speak the truth: and they said, "Yes." He then asked whether they believed the creed: to which they said, they did believe in God, and in Jesus Christ, who was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered at Jerusalem under Pontius Pilate, and arose again from the dead the third day, and ascended to his Father, and shall come to judgment, to judge both quick and dead. He farther asked, how they did believe the resurrection; and they answered, that they believed that the just and the unjust should arise, according to the Scriptures. Next he said, "Do you believe in the saints, and pray to them?" To which the answer was, We believe the communion of saints, but we not pray to them, but to God only, in the name of Jesus." His next question was, whether *they did believe* in the Catholic church;

and they answered, they did believe the true church of Christ, but the word Catholic (said they) we have not read in the Scripture. He also asked if they believed a purgatory: to which they said, "No; but a heaven and a hell". Then one of the friars, who was an Englishman, said we were commanded to pray for the dead: for, those that are in heaven have no need; and for those that are in hell, there is no redemption; therefore there must be a purgatory: and he asked if they believed the holy sacrament: to which their answer was, they never read the word sacrament in the Scripture. The friar replied, "Where you read in your bibles sanctification, it is sacrament in ours." And he said, their holy sacrament was bread and wine, which they converted into the flesh and blood of Christ, by the virtue of Christ. "Then," said the women, "Ye work miracles, for Christ's virtue is the same as it was when he turned water into wine at the marriage of Cana." The friar said, "If we do not eat the flesh, and drink the blood of the Son of God, we have no life in us." "They replied, "The flesh and blood of Christ is spiritual, and we do feed upon it daily; for that which is begotten of God in us, can no more live without spiritual food, than our temporal bodies can without temporal food." Then he said, "You never hear mass." "But we," said

they, "hear the voice of Christ; he only hath the words of eternal life; and that is sufficient for us." He said, "Ye are heretic and heathens." To which they replied, "They are heretic that live in sin and wickedness, and such are heathens that know not God."

Then it was asked them who was the head of their church: they told him, "Christ." It was farther asked what George Fox was: and they said, "He is a minister of Christ." And it being asked whether he sent them, their answer was, "No; the Lord did move us to come." Then the friar said, "Ye are deceived, and have not the faith; though ye had all virtues." And they replied, "Faith is the ground from whence virtues proceed." Hereupon it was told them if they would take the holy sacrament they might have their liberty; or else the pope would not leave them for millions of gold; but they should lose their souls and bodies too. To this they said, "The Lord hath provided for our souls, and our bodies are freely given up to serve him." Then it was asked them if they did not believe marriage was a sacrament: and they answered, it was an ordinance of God. It was farther asked if they did believe men could forgive sins: and their answer was, that none could forgive sins but God only. After some other words to and *fro, the woman* asked, "Wherein have we

wronged you, that we should be kept prisoners all the days of our life? Our innocent blood will be required at your hands." The friar said he would take their blood upon him. They replied, the time would come he should find he had enough upon him without it. Then it was told them the pope was Christ's vicar, and what he did was for the good of their souls. To this they answered, "The Lord hath not committed the charge of our souls to the pope, nor to you neither; for he hath taken them into his own possession: glory be to his name for ever." Then it was said unto them they must be obedient. And they returned they were obedient to the government of Christ's Spirit or light. The friar said, "None have the true light but the Catholics; the light that you have is the spirit of the devil." "Woe (said they) to him that curseth Jesus; can the devil give power over sin and iniquity? that would destroy his own kingdom." "You," replied the friar, "are laughed at and mocked by every one." "But," said they, "what will become of the mockers?" "It was no matter," he said: "you run about to preach, and have not the true faith." They returned, "The true faith is held in a pure conscience, void of offence towards God and men. Every one hath the true faith, that believeth in God, and in Jesus Christ whom he hath sent: but they that say they do

believe, and do not keep his commandments, are liars, and the truth is not in them." The friar confessed this to be true, though he was continually very troublesome to them with threats, to make them turn; and to this end they were locked up in a room, so exceedingly hot, that it was said it was impossible they could live long in it. They were also so exceedingly stung by gnats, when they lay in bed, that their faces became swollen, as if they had been sick of the small-pox, so that many began to be afraid of them; and the friar said to Sarah, he spied an evil spirit in her face.

At another time being examined, they were asked, how many of their friends were gone forth into the ministry, and into what parts: they answering to that query what they knew, it was told them, all that came where the pope had any thing to do, should never go back again. But they said, the Lord was as sufficient for them, as he was for the children in the fiery furnace, and their trust was in God. Catharine, being sickly, was asked why she looked so, whether her spirit was weak: she answered, "Nay: my body is weak, because I eat no meat." The friar hearing this, offered her a license to eat flesh; for it was in their Lent. But she refused this, and said, she could not eat any thing at all. And going afterwards to bed, she lay there *night* and day for twelve days

together, fasting and sweating, for she was in much affliction, and great was her agony.

After having lain ten days there came to her two friars, the chancellor, the man with the black rod, a physician, and the keeper. One of the friars commanded Sarah to go out of the room, and then pulled Catharine's hand out of the bed, and said, "Is the devil so great in you that you cannot speak?" To which she said, "Depart from me, thou worker of iniquity: the power of the Lord is upon me, and dost thou call me devil?" Hereupon he took his crucifix to strike her on the mouth: and she asked him whether it were that cross that crucified Paul to the world, and the world unto him. This ignorant monk said it was. But she denied it, and said, "The Lord hath made me a witness for himself against all workers of iniquity." He then bade her be obedient, and went to strike her, at which she said, "Wilt thou strike me?" And he saying he would, she further said, "Thou art out of the apostles' doctrine, for they were no strikers. I deny thee to be any of them who went in the name of the Lord." To which he said, he had brought her a physician in charity: and she returned, "The Lord is my physician, and my saving health." The monk growing angry, said she should be whipped and quartered, and burnt that night at Malta, and *her mate* too. But she told him modestly, she

l not fear; the Lord was on her side: and had no power but what he received: and if did not use it for the same end that the Lord ve it him, the Lord would judge him. At ese words they were all struck dumb, and nt away. Then the friar went to Sarah, and d her that Catharine called him worker of quity. "Did she, said Sarah, art thou with- t sin?" To which he said he was. "Then." plied Sarah, "she hath wronged thee."

Late in the evening something was proclaim- at the prison gate, by beating of a drum, ear- in the morning some came again with a drum d guns. It seems to me that this was done purpose to frighten these poor women, and make them believe that they should be put to ath; for indeed they looked for little less, ving for several weeks expected that they ould be led forth to the stake; but they were ly resigned, and given up to what the Lord ght be pleased to permit. In the meanwhile tharine continuing sickly, the friar came ain with the physician. But she told him, e could not take anything unless she felt free- m. He then said they must never come forth that room while they lived; and pretending be kind to them, he further said, "You may ank God and me, that it is no worse; for it is like to be worse." Thereupon they said, at *if they had died,* they had died as innocent.

as ever any servants of the Lord. He then
it was well they were innocent; and then t
ing to Sarah, bade her take notice what torm
Catharine would be in at the hour of deat
saying, thousands of devils would fetch her so
to hell. But Catharine told him she did n
fear any such thing. He then asked Catharin
if she did not think it expedient for the elder
of the church to pray over the sick. And she
said, "Yea, such as are moved by the Spirit
of the Lord." He then fell down on his knees,
and did howl and wish bitter wishes on himself
if he had not the true faith. The physician in
the mean time was enraged, because she did
not bow to him. Now whilst Catharine was
sick, Sarah was not without great affliction; for
it grieved her to see her dear companion so ill;
and she easily foresaw that if Catharine died,
her sufferings would be heavier. But yet she
was given up to the will of the Lord, and would
not in the least grudge Catharine her eternal
rest. But in time Catharine began to mend,
and grow hungry; and eating, she was refresh-
ed. But the room where they were locked up
was so excessively hot, that they were fain to
rise out of their bed, and lie down at the chink
of the door for air to fetch breath; and the heat
was the greater because the heat came not only
from without, but from within also; which so
affected them, that their skin was parched, the

hair fell off their heads, and they fainted often; and their afflictions were so great, that when it was day, they wished for night, and when it was night they wished for day; yea, through human weakness they wished for death, eating their bread weeping, and mingling their drink with their tears. Once Catharine asked the monks, who came to her with a physician, and said it was in charity, whether they did not keep them in that hot room to kill them, and then bring a physician to keep them longer alive: to this the friar said the inquisitor would lose his head if he should take them thence; and it was better to keep them there, than to kill them. Then they wrote to the inquisitor, and laid their innocency before him; and said also, that if it were their blood they thirsted after, they might take it any other way, as well as to smother them in that hot room. But this so incensed him, that he sent the friar to them, who took away their inkhorns, their bibles having been taken from them before. They asked then why their goods were taken away? to which it was answered, "All is ours; and your lives too, if we will." Then they asked, how they had forfeited their lives: to which it was told them, "For bringing books and papers." They replied, if there were any thing in them that were not true, they might write against it. To this the monk said, they

scorned to write to fools and asses, that did not know true Latin. And it was further told them, the inquisitor would have them separated, because Catharine was weak, and she should go into a cooler room; but Sarah should abide there. Then Catharine took Sarah by the arm, and said, "The Lord hath joined us together, and woe be to them that part us. I had rather die here with my friend, than part from her." This so struck the friar, that he went away, and came no more in five weeks, and the door of the room was not opened in all that time.

Then the monks came again to part them, but Catharine was sick, and broken out from head to foot. They thereupon sent for a doctor, and he said, they must have air, or else they would die. This was told the inquisitor, and he ordered the doors to be set open six hours in the day. But ten weeks after they were parted; which was such a grievous affliction, that they declared, death itself would not have been so hard to them. But the monks said, they corrupted each other, and that being parted, they would bow and submit. But they saw themselves disappointed; for the women were stronger afterwards than before, the Lord fitting them for every condition. Before they were parted, the friars brought them a scourge of small hempen cords, asking them if they would have it; and saying they were used to whip

themselves till the blood came. But the women said, that could not reach the devil, he sat upon the heart. Then the monks said, "All the people of Malta are for you; if ye will but be good Catholics, none will but like you." To which they returned, "The Lord hath changed us into that which changeth not." The monks then said, "All our holy women do pray for you; and ye shall be honoured of all the world, if ye will turn." They replied, "The world lieth in wickedness; and the honour and glory of it we have denied." To this the monks said "Ye shall be honoured of God too; but now ye are hated of all." "This" said one of the women, "is an evident token whose servants we are. The servant is not greater than his Lord.

Once, on a first day of the week, the friars came, and commanded them to kneel down with them to prayer. They signified they could not pray but as they were moved by the Lord. Then the friars commanded them the second time, and kneeled down by their bedside, and prayed after this manner; which being done they said to the women, "We have tried your spirits; now we know what spirit ye are of." But they told them they could not know that, unless their minds were turned to the light of Christ in their consciences. The English friar then growing angry, shewed them his crucifix, and bade them look on it. But they told him the

Lord saith. "Thou shalt not make to thyself the likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth; thou shalt not bow down to them, nor worship them: for I the Lord thy God am a jealous God." The friar hearing Sarah speak so boldly to him, called for the irons to chain her. She then bowed her head, and said to him, "Not only my hands and feet, but my neck also for the testimony of Jesus." The friar seeming appeased, said he would do them any good he could; for he saw what they did was not in malice. And the friars came often, and said to them, "If ye would do but a little ye should be set at liberty; but you will do nothing at all, but are against every thing." To which they returned, that they would do any thing that might tend to God's glory.

While they were imprisoned here, it happened that the inquisition-house was new built or repaired, which took up about the space of a year and a half; and during this time some of the great ones came often to see the building, which gave opportunity to these women to speak to them, and to declare the truth in the name of the Lord.

Now though they were threatened by the monks for preaching the light of Christ so boldly, yet not only the magistrates, but the lord *inquisitor* grew moderate towards them, and

gave order they should have pens, ink, and paper to write to England. And they seemed inclined to have set them at liberty; but the friars worked mightily against it; and had laboured about three quarters of a year to part them, before they could bring it to pass. And when at length they had effected it, they told Catharine that they should never see one another's faces again.

In the mean-while Catharine being sickly had little stomach to eat, and had no mind to eat any thing but what came from Sarah to her. And having told one of the friars that she wanted somebody to wash her linen, and to prepare some warm victuals for her, he sent to Sarah to know if she would do it for her; and she said she would. And by that means they for some weeks heard of one another every day; and the friar said once to Catharine, "You may free yourself of misery when you will; you may make yourself a Catholic, and have your freedom too when you will:" to which she told him, "Thus I might have a name that I did live when I was dead. Thou hast Catholics enough already. Endeavour to bring some of them to the light in their consciences, that they may stand in awe and sin not." But he was so eager, that he said he would lose one of his fingers if she and Sarah would be Catholics. Then she told *him it was Babylon* that was built with

blood, but Sion was redeemed through judgment

Many ways were used to draw them off; and once they would have persuaded her to set a picture at her bed's head, for a representation: but she said, as with abhorrence, "What, do ye think I want a calf to worship? Do ye walk by the rule of Scriptures?" To which the friar said, "We do, but we have traditions too." She replied, "If your traditions derogate or dissent from the fundamentals of Christ's doctrine, the prophets and apostles, I deny them in the name of the Lord." But he asserted that they did not. Then she asked what rule they had to burn those that could not join with them for conscience sake; and he returned, "St. Paul did worse, for he gave them to the devil:" and further said, that they did judge all damned that were not of their faith. Then she objected to him several of the superstitious rites of the church of Rome, and mentioned also the forbidding of marriage, which, said she, is a doctrine of devils according to the saying of the apostle. The friar being put to a nonplus, told her that St. Peter was the pope of Rome, and did build an altar there, and the pope was his successor, and he could do what he would. But she refuted this with sound reason. He then boasting of the antiquity of their church, she signified that the church she was of was yet older, for, *said she*, "Our faith was from the beginning;



and Abel was of our church." The friar being at a loss, and not longer able to hold out against Catharine, went to Sarah, and talked with her at the same rate; and she also told him Abel was of our church: to which he said, "Abel was a Catholic;" and quite overshooting himself, he said likewise. "And Cain and Judas were so." To which Sarah returned, "Then the devil was a Catholic; and I will not be one: I will not turn; though ye would tear me to pieces, I believe the Lord would enable me to endure it."

At another time the said friar, whose name was Malachi, came again to Catharine, and told her if she would be a Catholic, she should say so; otherwise they would use her badly, and he should never see the face of Sarah again, but should die by herself, and a thousand devils would carry her soul to hell. She then asked him if he were the messenger of God to her: and he said, "Yes." "Why, what is my sin," said she, "or wherein have I provoked the Lord, that he doth send me such a message?" "It is," returned the monk, "because you will not be a Catholic." Whereupon she said, "I deny thee and the message too, and the spirit which speaks in thee; for the Lord never spoke so." Growing angry, said that he would lay her in a whole pile of chains, where she should see neither *sun nor moon*. She intimating how

resigned she was, said he could not separate her from the love of God in Christ Jesus, lay her wherever he would. And he farther saying he would give her to the devil, she resumed, "I do not fear all the devils in hell; the Lord is my keeper. Though thou hadst the inquisition, with all the countries round about it on thy side, and I was alone by myself, I do not fear them; if they were thousands more, the Lord is on my right hand; and the worse they can do, is but to kill the body, they can touch my life no more than the devil could Job's." Then the monk said she should never go out of that room alive. To which she courageously said, "The Lord is sufficient to deliver; but whether he will or no, I will not forsake the living fountain, to drink at a broken cistern. And ye have no law to keep us here, but such a law as Ahab had for Naboth's vineyard." The monk then cursing himself, andcalling upon his gods, ran away; and as he was pulling the door, he said, "Abide there, member of the devil." To which she said, "The devil's members do the devil's works; and the woes and plagues of the Lord will be upon them for it."

He then went and told the inquisitor of it, who laughed at him; and before he came again, Catharine was moved out of that room; when he came, he brought one of the inquisitor's men *with* him, and two very good hens, and said,

the lord inquisitor had sent them in love to her. To which she said, she received his love, but yet she shewed herself not very ready to accept them; and signified, that she was willing to pay for them, being loath to be chargeable to any, whilst she had of her own. The friar, who it seems would have had them lay down their money at his feet, said they must not count any thing their own, for in the primitive times they sold their possessions, and laid them down at the apostles, feet. He further said, "You shall not want any thing, though we should spend a thousand crowns. But you are proud, because you will not take the inquisitor's hens which he sent you in charity." She then asking what kind of charity this was, since he kept her in prison; the friar said, it was for the good of their souls he kept them in prison; farther adding, "If you had not been going to preach, ye might have gone where ye would." She returned, "Our souls are out of the inquisitor's reach. Why should your love extend more to us than to your own family: for they commit all manner of sin, which you cannot charge us with. Why do not ye put them into the inquisition, and bid them turn?" He then said "You have not the true faith;" and shewing her his crucifix, asked her if she thought he did worship that; and she asked him, what then did he with it: to which he answered, *it was a* representation. And she



iel in the lion's den, or Jonah in
They cried unto the Lord
them." The friar, who could
her speak so much against ido
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and said, "I will do to you as
Ananias and Sapphira." She
also, said, "I deny thee in
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Sarah, and told her that Cat
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she would be glad to eat a pie
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other to-morrow. Sarah no

burnt; but if the Lord should call me to
elieve he will give me power to undergo
his truth: and if every hair of my head
a body, I could offer them up all for the
mony of Jesus.
ie friar coming afterwards, again asked
arine whether she had not been inspired
e Holy Ghost to be a Catholic, since she
into the inquisition: she said, "No:"
ie maintaining the contrary, said, "You
hose who call the Spirit of the Holy Ghost
pirit of the devil." "No:" replied they,
though they were parted, yet could hear
another) "The Spirit of the Holy Ghost
will resist the devil; and the inspiration
e Holy Ghost is not wrought in the will of
nor in man's time; but in God's will and
." More discourse they had about this
er, and then asking for their bibles, which
been taken from them, he said they should
r see them again, for they were false.
aus they were often troubled and impor-
d by the friars, who generally came two at
me, though sometimes but one. One of
e often lifted up his hand to strike them,
did not: for they not being moved by fear,
as put out of countenance, and would say
were good women, and he would do them
good. As indeed sometimes he did work
hem, and would say it was for God's sake,

and that they ought to thank him for it. To which they replied, those that did any thing for God, did not look for a reward from man; which once made him so angry, that he said they were the worst of all creatures, and they should be used worse than the Turks, Armenians and Lutherans. Whereupon one of them said, "The pure life was ever counted the worst; and if we suffer, we are the Lord's, and can trust him. Do what ye will with us, we do not fear any evil tidings; we are settled and grounded in truth; and the more ye persecute us, the stronger we grow." For this they experienced indeed, according to what they signified in their letter, though they were separated a year from each other. The friars coming once to Sarah, told her if she would she might go out of the prison, and say and do nothing. And she saying she would on that account, they said they would come next morning. But Sarah perceived their deceit, and therefore when they came, she, to avoid the snare, could not resolve to go forth, though the friars behaved themselves friendly, and told her that the inquisitor had said, if they wanted linen, woollen stockings, shoes, or money they should have it.

Once it happened that an Englishman who lived there, having heard that Sarah was in a *room* with a window next the street, got up by

the wall, and spoke a few words to her: but he was violently haled down, and cast into prison upon life and death; for he was one they had taken from the Turks, and made a Papist of him. The friars coming to them to know whether he had brought them any letters, they said "No." Neither had Catharine seen him; yet it was told them he was like to be hanged. Of this Sarah gave information to Catharine, by writing a few lines to her, (for it seems they then could not hear one another) and she told her, she thought the English friars were the chief actors of this business. This grieved Catharine, and she wrote to Sarah again, (for they had a private way to send to each other.) In this letter, after her salutation, she said to Sarah, that she might be sure the friars were the chief actors; but that she believed the Lord would preserve that poor Englishman for his love, and that she was made to seek the Lord for him with tears: and that she desired her to send him something once a day, if the keeper would carry it. That she herself was ravished with the love of God to her soul, and her beloved was the chiefest of ten thousands; and that she did not fear the face of any man, though she felt their arrows: moreover that she had a prospect of their safe return to England. And in the conclusion, she bade Sarah take heed, if she was tempted with money.

But this letter, (by what means they never knew) came to the English friar's hands, who translating it into Italian, delivered it to the lord inquisitor; and afterwards came with the inquisitor's deputy to Catharine, and shewed her both the papers, and asked her if she could read it: viz. the English one: "Yea," said she "I wrote it." "O! did you indeed?" said he. "And what is it you say of me here?" "Nothing but what is true," replied she. Then he said, "Where is the paper Sarah sent? Give it, or else I will search your trunk, and every where else. She then bidding him search where he would, he said, she must tell him who it was that brought her ink, or else she should be tied with chains presently. And she returned she had done nothing but what was just and right in the sight of God; and what she did suffer on that account would be for truth's sake. And she would not meddle with the poor workmen. Then he said, "For God's sake tell me what Sarah did write." And she told him something, and said, what she spoke was truth. "But," returned he, "you say it is much we do not tempt you with money." And this indeed happened afterwards. The deputy then took Catharine's ink, and threw it away; and so they went also; and the poor Englishman was released the next morning. They now coming to Sarah, told her that

Catharine honestly had confessed all, and that she had best to confess too: and they threatened her with a halter, and that they would take away her bed and trunk, and her money too. To which Sarah said, it may be she might not send to Catharine any more: and she asked the deputy whether he was a minister of Christ, or a magistrate: if he were a magistrate, said she, he might take her money, but she would not give it him. He then growing angry, said she was possessed. To which she returned, if so, then it was with the power of an endless life.

Thus from time to time they suffered many assaults; and sometimes it so happened that those who came to see them were struck to the heart, which offended the friars. Now at length their money was almost gone, they having sometimes employed it for victuals. But the friars told them they might have kept their money for other services; for they should have maintained them whilst they kept them prisoners. To this they said they could not keep their money, and be chargeable to others. Then it so fell out that their stomachs were taken away, and they did eat but little for three or four weeks, till at length they found themselves obliged to fasting for several days together; which made the friars say, that it was impossi-

ble that people could live with so little meat as they did. And it was told them the lord inquisitor had said they might have any thing they would. To which they signifying that it was not in their own will they fasted, said they must wait to know the mind of the Lord what he would have them to do. They continued weak, especially Sarah, who apprehending her death near, did therefore dress her head as she would lie in the grave. They both were so feeble that they could not put on their clothes, neither put them off, being also unable to make their beds. And though they desired to be together in one room, yet the friars would not permit it. In this condition they concluded they were like to die; but heaven had provided otherwise.

Catharine about that time, being exercised in supplication to the Lord, that it might please him to put an end to their trial, which way it seemed good in his sight, thought she heard a voice, saying, "Ye shall not die:" and she took this to be a heavenly voice: and from that time they felt themselves refreshed with the living presence of the Lord, to their great joy and comfort, so that they felt freedom to eat again; and then they were provided with good victuals; but yet they were under a fear of eating any *thing* which in some respects might be counted *unclean*; and therefore they cried unto the Lord,

and said, "We had rather die than eat any thing that is polluted and unclean." And Catharine believed it was said to her from the Lord, "Thou mayst as freely eat as if thou hadst wrought for it with thy own hands." And Sarah, who sometimes had wrought for others in the inquisition house, was persuaded it was told her by inspiration, "Thou shalt eat of the fruit of thy hands, and be blessed." And so they did eat, and for eight or ten days, they got whatever they did call for. But afterwards they were so straitened for want of food, that it did them more hurt than their fast. Yet they being preserved alive, the friars said, "The Lord keeps them alive by his mighty power, because they should be Catholics. To which they returned, it should be known one day that the Lord had another end in it. But the friars told them plainly there was no redemption for them. Whereupon they said, "With the Lord there is mercy and plenteous redemption:" and they bad them take heed of being found fighters against God. To which the friars returned, "Ye are foolish women." "Then we are," replied they "the Lord's fools; and they are dear and precious in his sight." The friars then shewing their shaven crowns said they were the Lord's fools; and pointing to their gowns, said they did wear them for God's sake, to be laughed at by the world. One of the friars about this time

did what he could to send Catharine to Rome; and not succeeding, he said they should both go. But this not taking effect, the friar was sent thither with a paper containing matter of charge against Catharine; but she speaking zealously to the scribe, pronounced woe against it, and defied it in the name of the Lord. Before the friar departed, he told Sarah that Catharine was a witch, and that she knew what was done elsewhere. He said this, because once telling Catharine abundance of lies, she told him she had a witness of God in her which was faithful and true; and she believed this witness.

After he was gone, the English consul came to her with a dollar from a master of a ship, who came from Plymouth. She told him she did receive her countryman's love, but could not receive this money. He then asked her what she would do if she would take no money; to which she answered, "The Lord is my portion, and thus I cannot want any good thing. We were in thy house fifteen weeks, didst thou see any cause of death or bonds in us?" and he saying no, she signified to him, that in some respects he had been accessary to their confinement, and had not been ignorant of their intent: "Thou knowest," said she, that a room was provided for us in the inquisition; and had we not been kept alive by the mighty power of God *we might* have been dead long since." En-

ouring to excuse himself, he said, "How
d I help it?" Then she put him in mind of
: happened at his house, when they were
e, and how they called them to repentance,
forewarned them. To which he said, "How-
it be, it will go well with you." Then she
him how he required a sign of her, when
were at his house, if they were the servants
ie Lord God: and she asked him whether
was not true they spoke to him: "Thou
a condemned person, and standest guilty
re God; yet nevertheless repent, if thou
t find a place." Whilst she thus spake to
, his lips quivered, and he trembled, so that
ould scarce stand upon his legs: and though
rwise a very handsome man and in his
ne, yet he now looked like as one that was
ng away: and this was a sufficient sign for
whole city if they had taken due notice of it.
barine having refused the piece of money,
vent to Sarah with it: but she likewise told
she could not take it; but if he had a let-
for them, she should be free to receive it.
saying he had not any, asked her what she
want; and she answered, the Lord was her
pherd, she could not want any good thing;
she did long for her freedom. He not
ling to discourage her, said, "That you may
e in time." But he did not live to see it,
the next time they heard of him he was dead.

Whilst the friar was gone to Rome, it was told them they were also to be sent thither; and there was indeed much working about it; but it seems they could not agree in the matter. In the meanwhile Catharine and Sarah remained separated, and there were five doors between them with locks and bolts; and yet Sarah sometimes found an opportunity, either by the carelessness of the keeper, or that it was done on purpose, to come where she could see Catharine; and how much soever the friars did watch them, yet she came to Catharine's door by night. But being once discovered, she was locked up again; yet not long after the doors were again open, so that they sat in sight of each other.

Sometimes there were of divers nations brought prisoners into the inquisition, and the friars, and other great men endeavoured in their way, to make Christians of them. Then these women would often shew them the errors of popery, for which they were willing to suffer death, if required: but this was taken very ill. At length it happened that two Englishmen came into the city, and tried to obtain their liberty, but in vain. Yet a little while after the magistrates sent for them and asked them whether they were sick; or whether they did want anything; saying they might write to England, ordering the scribe to give them ink and paper.

Not long after came Francis Steward, the

captain of a ship, and a friar from Ireland, who took great pains to get them released: and their friends in England had not been wanting in any thing that might procure their liberty. But the time for it was not yet come. The said captain, and the new English consul, endeavoured much to procure their liberty; but it was not in the magistrates' power, for the inquisitor said he could not set them free without an order from the pope. Yet Catharine and Sarah were brought into the court chamber and the English consul asked them if they were willing to go back to England; and they said "Yes, if it were the will of God they might." The captain of the ship, who was also there, spoke to them with tears in his eyes, and told them what he had done in their behalf, but in vain. "It is the inquisitor," said he "who will not let you go free: you have preached amongst these people." To which they said, they had witnessed the truth, which they were willing to maintain with their blood. He replied if they could be set free, he would freely give them their passage, and provide for them. And they answered, his love was as well accepted of the Lord, as if he did carry them. He also offered them money, but they refused to take any, they then gave him a relation of their imprisonment and sufferings, and said they could not *change* their minds, though they were

to be burnt to ashes, or chopped in small pieces. The friar then drawing near, said they did not work: but this was not true, for they had work of their own, and did work as they were able. They also told him their work and service was in England. He confessing this was true, said they had suffered long enough, and too long, and that they should have their freedom within a short time, but that there wanted an order from the pope. In the meanwhile it grieved the captain that he could not obtain their liberty; and going away, he prayed God to comfort them; and they beseeched the Lord to bless and preserve him unto everlasting life, and never to let him, nor his, go without a blessing from him, for his love. For he ventured himself exceedingly in that place, by labouring to get their freedom.

After he was gone, they met with worse usage, and the inquisitor coming, looked upon them with indignation; for the taking away of their lives was again on foot, and their doors were shut up for many weeks. After some time the inquisitor came again into the tower where they sat; and Sarah called to him, and desired the door might be opened for them to go down into the court to wash their clothes. He then ordered the door to be opened once a week; and not long after it was open every day. And *since it* had been said that they could not be

released without the pope's leave, Sarah said to him, "If we are the pope's prisoners, we appeal to the pope: send us therefore to him." But those that had their abode in the inquisition especially the friars, were their mortal enemies, although they would sometimes have fed them with the best of their victuals, and given them whole bottles of wine, if they would have received it: and it troubled them exceedingly, that they refused to eat and drink with them; which they did, because they looked upon them as their fierce persecutors.

Once there came two or three English ships into the harbour, and the English consul telling them of it, said, that he did what he could for them, but that they would not let them go, unless they would turn Catholics, and that therefore they must suffer more imprisonment yet. Before Sarah knew these ships were come thither, she saw them in the night in a dream, and heard a voice saying that they could not got yet. When the ships were gone, they were sent for, and it was asked if they would be Catholics; to which they answered, they were true Christians, and had received the Spirit of Christ. One of the magistrates shewing them the cross, they told him, they did take up the cross of Christ daily, which was the power of God to crucify sin and iniquity. Knowing that there was a friar, who, as the captain had told them,

took a great deal of pains for them, but not seeing him there, (for he secretly favouring them, was now absent) they said to those that were present, "One of your fathers hath promised us our liberty." But this availed nothing. Yet they acknowledged his kindness, and told him afterwards, he would never have cause to repent it. A friar once coming to them, said, "It is God's will ye should be kept here, or else we could not keep you." On which Catharine told him, "The Lord suffers wicked men to do wickedness, but he doth not will them to do it: he suffered Herod to take off John the Baptist's head, but he did not will him to do it: he suffered Stephen to be stoned, and Judas to betray Christ; but he did not will them to do so; for if he had he would not have condemned them for it." The friar hereupon asking, "Are we then wicked men?" She answered, "They are wicked men that work wickedness." But, "said he, "you have not the true faith." To which she answered, "By faith we stand, and by the power of God we are upheld. Dost thou think it is by our power and holiness we are kept from a vain conversation, from sin and wickedness?" He then saying that was their pride, she told him, "We can glory in the Lord, we were children of wrath once as well as *others*; but the Lord hath quickened us that *were* dead, by the living word of his grace, and

hath washed, cleansed, and sanctified us in soul and spirit, in part, according to our measures; and we do press forward towards that which is perfect." He then said, "Ye are good women; but yet there is no redemption for you, except ye will be Catholics." This was the old lesson of the friars, who, at another time, said "Ye may be Catholics, and keep your own religion too, and ye shall not be known to be Catholics, except ye were brought before a justice." To which they returned, What, should we profess a Christ we should be ashamed of?"

Some of those that came to see them would pity them for not turning Catholics; but others shewed their hatred, by crying, that they must be burnt, and by bawling fuoco, fuoco, [fire, fire,] Whilst they were separated from each other, Catharine was often much concerned for Sarah, and afraid that she should be ensnared; for one of the friars many times accosted her with fawning words: but they both continued stedfast, and were often ravished by the inward joy and consolation they felt. Catharine in one of her letters said, that the spirit of prayer was once upon her, but that she was afraid to speak to the Lord, for fear she should speak one word that would not please him. And then it was returned from the Lord, "Fear not, daughter of Sion; ask what thou wilt, and I will grant it *thee, whatsoever thy* heart can wish." But she

desired nothing of the Lord, but what would make for his glory, whether it were her liberty, or bondage, life, or death. And in this resignedness she found herself accepted of the Lord.

Sometimes they spoke so effectually to those that came to them, that they could not gainsay them, but were made to confess that God was with them; though others would make a hideous noise, and cry, Jesu Maria, and run away as people that were struck with fear. Catharine's prison being so near the street, that she could be heard of by those that went by, she was moved sometimes to call them to repentance, and to turn them to the light where with they were enlightened, which would lead them out of all their wicked ways and works, to serve the true and living God in spirit, and in truth. This so reached some, that they did sigh and groan, and stay to hear her; but not long, it being forbidden upon great pain. Yet some that passed by to their worship-houses, were so wicked, that they threw stones at her window, and often made a sad noise, and howled like dogs.

Thus they were assaulted both from abroad, and within doors from the friars, who fiercely threatened them for their bold testimony against idolatry. Once when they shewed Sarah the Virgin Mary and her babe pictured against a wall, and would have her look upon it, she, to *shew* her zeal against idol-worship, stamped

with her foot, and said, "Cursed are all images, and image makers, and those that fall down to worship them."

It happened that some French and Spanish ships came to join with the cavaliers of Malta, to fight against the Turks; Sarah hearing this, said, "God is angry, God is angry; go not forth to kill one another; Christ came not to destroy life, but to save it." This she told many, who were persuaded of obtaining a victory: but it fell out otherwise, for their fleet was beaten by the Turks, and they returned with great damage.

A friar coming once to Catharine, asked her why she did not work; which made her say to him, "What work dost thou?" He answered, "I write," To which she returned, "I will write too, if thou wilt bring me pen, ink, and paper." He not willing she should write, said, "St. Paul did work at Rome; and by knitting she might get about three halfpence a day." She then told him, "If we could have that privelege among you, which Paul had at Rome under Cæsar, who was a heathen prince, we would have wrought, and not have been chargeable to any; for he lived in his own hired house two years, preaching the gospel and doctrine of the Lord Jesus Christ." She asked him also whether he knew the holy war of God? "And if thou knowest it," said she, "then thou canst not but know that we cannot be without exer-

cise day nor night." This stopped his mouth: besides, it was well known, that they spent not their time idly; for they knit stockings for those that were serviceable to them; they made garments for the poor prisoners, and mended their clothes; though they were not willing to work for the friars, who sometimes coming to her, kneeled down, and would have Catharine to say after them the words they spoke. But this she refused to do, though it made these men grow more angry. Such and the like occurrences so grieved her, that once in anguish of spirit she cried out to God, "It were better for me to die than to live thus." For being almost continually constrained to testify against idolatry and superstition, she would have been willing to have laid down her life for a testimony against it, if it had been required of her. And when once the friars told her that Sarah was to be carried to Rome, whilst she should stay at Malta, it so grieved her, that with supplication, she asked the Lord if he did not count her worthy to go to Rome also, and to offer up her life there for the testimony of Jesus: because, if she was at liberty to choose, she would rather do so, than return without her to England.

At another time, when it was told them that *their* bibles were false, Catharine asked the friar *that said* so, "Wherein are they false?" He

replied, because the books of the Maccabees were not in them. To which he answered, that though something might be wanting, yet the rest might be good for all that: but if something were added, then the bible was corrupted. This struck at some additions she had seen in the bibles there. Then he asked her whether she did not think that every one must bow at the name of Jesus; and she answering, "Yea," he said, "Jesus," and bade her to kneel down, or to bow herself. To which she said, that her heart and whole body was bowed under the name of Jesus; but that she would not bow at the will of him, or any body else. "He that departs from iniquity (thus she continued) bows before the name of Jesus; but they that live in sin and wickedness, do not bow before the Son of God." Then he said, that he and his companions stood in the same power, and were led by the same spirit as the apostles. Which made her ask, why then they abused that power, and used carnal weapons; he answered, they did not do so, for their inquisition, nay, even their chains and fetters were spiritual. Then he asked her, whether she did not think all those damned that were not of her persuasion; she said, "No, Christ hath not taught us so; for those that are to day in a state of reprobation, the Lord, if it please him, can call to-morrow out of it." He then said, "We think you damned, and all those that are

not of our belief." To which she returned, "The judgment of man doth not hurt us."

Sometimes some came to the prison upon their saints' days, and asked them what day it was? And they not being acquainted with those saints, would answer, "We do not know." When the others then told them that it was such or such a saint's day, and that this saint would punish them that night, because they did not observe his day; they answered, that they knew the saints to be at peace with them, and that therefore they did not fear them. Another time a friar came and told them it was seventeen days to Christmas, and that the Virgin Mary conceived that present day. On which Catharine made this remark, that indeed this was very singular that she did go with child but seventeen days. Such like occurrences grieved her exceedingly, when she considered the gross darkness these people were in: and as she was crying to the Lord in prayer, that it seemed that all their travail and labour was fruitless, she felt this answer: "Be not grieved, though Israel be not gathered, the seed of Malta is to increase into multitude; that which ye have sown, shall not die, but live.

After Catharine and Sarah had been imprisoned at Malta about three years, there came one Daniel Baker, who did whatever he could, *and went* also to the inquisitor, to obtain their

liberty, but in vain; for he required that some English merchants at Leghorn, or at Messina, should engage for four thousand dollars, that they, being released, should never return into those parts. But they were unwilling to enter into those terms, as not knowing what the Lord one time or other might require of them. Daniel, seeing he could not obtain their deliverance this way, offered himself to be imprisoned instead of them; and this not being accepted, he went yet farther, and signified, that he was yet willing to lay down his life for their liberty, if it was not to be purchased otherwise. Great love indeed! of which but few instances are to be found. And they hearing of this, were touched with exceeding great admiration. In the meanwhile, he found a way to get some letters delivered to them, and wrote also himself, both to comfort and exhort them to stedfastness. At length he found means also to speak to them; for on a time, as they stood at the prison grates, he being come in their sight, saluted them in these words: "The whole body of God's elect, right dearly beloved, own your testimony, and ye are a sweet savour unto the Lord and his people." To which one of them answered, that it was a trouble to them that they could not be more serviceable. This made his heart melt with pity and compassion, considering the wonderful mercy of the Lord

in preserving them without fainting in that sharp trial: and they beholding one another at a distance through the iron grates, were mutually refreshed at that season. They afterwards wrote to him, and signified with the most tender expressions, how highly they valued his great love; and also sent him letters for their friends and relations in England; and he neglected not to write back again to them during his stay, which was in the forepart of the year 1662. But he was forced to leave them prisoners there: yet the time of their redemption drew nigh, which was brought about at the instance of G. Fox and Gilbert Latey, by writing to the lord d'Aubigny, as hath been said already.

Some time before Daniel Baker came to Malta it had been told them, that if they would turn Catholics, they might dwell at Malta. To which their answer was, that they were true Catholics. One of the magistrates said, that if they would not turn Catholics, they must yet suffer long imprisonment by the Pope's order. And yet it was not true that there was such an order. It was also told them, if they would kiss the cross, they should be released; and they might stay at the house of the English consul until an opportunity offered to carry them to England. In the meanwhile they heard that the pope had given order to let them pass to England without doing them any hurt.

But however it was, they were preserved well contented, and they said resolutely, that they would not kiss the cross, nor purchase their liberty at that rate. It seems the consul aimed at some advantage by their release, for he told them that the inquisitor had said, if any one would engage for three or four thousand dollars to be paid if ever they came thither again, they should be set at liberty. This he said also to D. Baker, and added, that if none would engage, they must die in prison, and that this was the pope's order. After Baker's departure, word was sent to some English merchants, concerning such an engagement; but none appeared willing to enter into it; and the prisoners were so far from desiring it, that they spoke against it. Yet there were many that sought to obtain their liberty, shewing themselves willing to engage for what was reasonable; but all their endeavours were in vain.

Once they fasted three days, and though it was a cold season, they sat upon the ground, with very little clothes, without stockings or shoes, having nothing upon their heads but ashes. The inquisitors seeing it, wondered exceedingly; and Sarah began to speak zealously against superstition and idolatry. And when the time of their fast was expired, Catharine composed the following

HYMN TO GOD.

ALL praise to him that hath not put
Nor cast me out of mind,
Nor yet his mercy from me shut,
As I could ever find.

Infinite glory, laud, and praise
Be given to his name,
Who hath made known in these our days
His strength and noble fame.

Oh none is like unto the Lamb!
Whose beauty shineth bright,
O glorify his holy name,
His majesty and might.

My soul praise thou the only God,
A fountain pure and clear,
Whose crystal streams spread all abroad,
And cleanseth far and near.

The well-springs of eternity,
Which are so pure and sweet,
And do arise continually,
My bridegroom for to meet.

My sweet and dear beloved one,
Whose voice is more to me
Than all the glory of the earth,
Or treasures I can see.

He is the glory of my life,
My joy and my delight,
Within the bosom of his love
He clos'd me day and night.

He doth preserve me clean and pure
Within his pavill'on,
Where I with him should be secure,
And saved from all wrong.

My soul praise thou the Lord, I say,
Praise him with joy and peace;
My sp'rit and mind both night and day,
Praise him and never cease.

O magnify his majesty,
His fame and his renown,
Whose dwelling is in Sion high,
The glory of his crown.

O praises, praises to our God,
Sing praises to our King;
O teach the people all abroad,
His praises for to sing.

A Sion song of glory bright,
That doth shine out so clear;
O manifest it in the sight
Of nations far and near.

That God may have his glory due,
His honour and his fame,
And all his saints may sing anew
The praises of his name.

After Catharine had joyfully sung thus, she went to the well in the court, and drank much water in the sight of the prisoners, as did Sarah also: for they were very dry, and Sarah washing her head also in cold water, they cried out in their language, "Ye will kill yourselves, and go to the devil." But this they did not fear, neither caught they any cold, and so became a wonder to others.

About half a year after Daniel Baker was gone, it came into Catharine's heart, that if she could speak with the inquisitor, he would grant them their liberty. And it was not long after that he came to the inquisition court chamber, which they hearing, desired to speak with him, which was granted, and being admitted into his presence, they told him they had not wronged or defrauded any, but had suffered innocently almost four years for conscience-sake, &c. After this the inquisitor was very courteous to them, and promised their liberty in a few days, saying he would send for the consul, and get him to engage for five hundred dollars to be *paid for* them if ever they came again. And *in case the* consul denied this, he would send to

Rome to the pope, to set them at liberty without any obligation.

Not many days after the inquisitor came with his lieutenant, the chancellor, and others, and after some discourse, asked them whether they would return back again to their husbands and children, if it were the will of God: to which they answered, it was their intent in the will of God so to do. Hereupon they were released, and the inquisitor took his leave very courteously of them, and wished them a prosperous return into their own country; so likewise did the magistrates, and the inferior officers, not requiring one pennyworth for fees or attendance; yet in their own freedom they gave something to the keeper, and some poor men.

Being thus set at liberty, they kneeled down, and prayed God never to lay to their charge what they did unto them, because they knew them not. And then they were delivered into the consul's hands, who told them that he had engaged for them to get them free; but they could never find that it was true. Now they were kept eleven weeks at the consul's house, before they could get a passage from thence. Catharine in the meanwhile, being under a great concern, because of a judgment that was impending over the city, wrote a paper to the rulers of Malta, in which she said, that on the 25th of *the month called* August, it came upon her from

the Lord to write thus to them in his name, "My wrath is kindled against you, and my judgment is set up amongst you, because of your hard-heartedness and unbelief. I the Lord, who desire the death of no man, but that all should return unto me and live, have cast my servants amongst you, contrary to their will, and without their knowledge, to go and forewarn you of the evil that was coming upon you. For all the wicked shall be brought to judgment. I will establish my beloved Son upon his throne, and he shall rule in his princely power, and reign in his kingly majesty, whose right it is over all; and his own spiritual government shall he set up in all places, righteous rule and pure worship in spirit and in truth. There is nothing that can prevent the Lord, who saith, If ye will not hear my servant, which speaketh my word, whom ye proved almost these four years, whose life hath been harmless and spotless, in pure innocency amongst you, then will I bring woe upon woe, and judgment upon judgment upon you, till the living shall not be able to bury the dead. My mouth hath spoken it, and my zeal will perform it; and every man's hand shall be upon his loins for pain; for the day of recompence is come. But if you will hear my servant which speaketh in my name, and return in your *minds to* the light in your consciences, which *convinceth* of all evil, and deny all evil thoughts,

words, and actions, then will I pour out my spirit upon you, and will soon cure you of your diseases, and heal you of your pain."

This, and more she wrote and delivered to the consul to give it to the grand master, and the rest of the governors; but the consul not being pleased with it, threatened her with imprisonment again. What farther became of the paper I do not find, but this, that on the 8th of October, there was great thunder and lightning, which set on fire and blew up one of the powder-houses about a mile out of the city, and another powder-house was thrown down; and in the city five houses were overthrown, most of the glass windows of the palaces and other houses broken, the doors lifted off their hooks, the walls torn, and the whole city terribly shaken, so that being at midnight, a cry went through the whole city, and the bells were rung. At the bed's feet where Catharine and Sarah lay, was a glass window, which also was broken, but they received no hurt, though the house was so shaken that they did exceedingly fear and quake; but being given up unto the Lord to live or die, their fear was soon taken from them, and turned into joy in the Lord. When it was day the consul came to them, and they being still and quiet, he asked whether they were not dead: and while he was speaking others came in, telling what was done in the city; and he told them that even the ships

in the harbour had suffered damage. Then they said "One woe is past, and behold another woe cometh quickly, if ye do not repent."

Some days after Sarah fasted, sitting upon the ground with ashes upon her head, her neck and shoulders bare; and she spoke to the consul to desire the grand master to proclaim a fast, and to make the people to meet together to wait upon the Lord, with their minds turned to him, that so he might turn away his judgments from them; for the hour of his judgments was come, wherein the painted harlot should be stripped naked, and receive a cup of trembling from the hand of the Lord. The consul performed this message to the magistrates, and the friars said the woman had a good intent. Some time after the inquisitor came and talking with them, said "Your intent is good, but the devil hath deceived you." And they asked him whether the devil could give power over sin: to which he said the devil could transform himself into an angel of light. This they assented to, but yet said he could not hide himself from the children of light; though they that were in the dark could not discern him. He could not abide to hear this, but went away, and the consul, who was present, wrought against them to get them into bondage again, but in vain. Many now died in the town of a violent fever: whether



any other disaster followed upon their prediction, I cannot tell.

At length there came one of the king of England's frigates, called the Sapphire, commanded by captain Samuel Titswell, who took them in, together with some knights of Malta; among whom was the inquisitor's brother, who often spoke to the captain, that they might not want any thing that was in the ship, and he told them, if they came to Malta again, they should not be persecuted so. And to the captain he said, "If they go to heaven one way, and we another yet we shall meet together at last." But they told him that Christ Jesus, the light of the world was the only way to the Father.

Departing from Malta, after some time they ame to Leghorn, where the merchants shewed em great kindness, and sent wine and other ings for their refreshment, proffering them o money; but they were unwilling to accept From thence they came to Tangier, which king of England had in marriage with the ghter of the king of Portugal. This place at that time beseiged by the Moors, yet arine and Sarah entered the town, and many flocking into the house where they were d; for they boldly exhorted the people to t from wickedness. They also went to vernor, who was courteous to them, and eir admonitions in good part, and promis-

ed to follow their counsel. And he would have given them money, but they took none, though they accepted his love; for he commanded that none of the garrison should abuse them either in word or deed, upon pain of severe punishment: yet the Portuguese and Irish were ready enough to have done them mischief. They being inclined to go to the Moors, desired the governor to let them go forth, but he told them they must expect from that savage people nothing but cruel death, or bonds for ever. And though they signified to him that they believed the Lord would preserve them, since they were persuaded that he required of them to go to the Moors, yet the governor in a friendly manner withheld them from going. Being thus stopped, they believed that the Lord accepted of their good will. When they went abroad again, though in another ship, several took shipping with them, from a belief that on their account they should have a safe passage. The captain and others that were in the ship behaved themselves very civilly towards them; and though they met with tempests, yet at length they arrived safe in England.

Catharine afterwards related, that when in the inquisition she was for many days together in expectation that they should be burnt, she saw in a dream in the night, a large room and a

great wood fire in the chimney, and she beheld one sitting in a chair by the fire, in the form of a servant, whom she took to be the Son of God: likewise she saw a very amiable well favoured man child sitting in a hollow chair over the fire, (not appearing to be above three-quarters of a year old, and having no clothes on but a little fine linen about the upper parts) and the fire flamed about it; yet the child played, and was merry. She then would have taken it up, for fear it should have been burnt; but he that sat in the chair bid her let it alone. Then turning about she saw an angel, and he that sat in the chair bid her take up the child, which she did, and found it had no harm. And then awaking, she told her dream to Sarah, and desired her not to fear, since the heavenly host thus followed them.

I have collected this relation of the occurrences of these women at Malta, from several papers and letters, which not long after their return home were published in print. And since no due order was observed therein, and many things mentioned, which to avoid prolixity I have past by, as not very material, I may have haply missed in some case or other, as to the order or series of time, but yet I think the matters of fact are not mutilated. Now to give the reader an idea of the frame of these women's minds, and their sufferings, I will insert some of their letters:

among those which they wrote to their friends in England, was this following:

"O dearly beloved friends, fathers, and elders, and pillars of God's spiritual house, and brethren and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ, in the measure of love and life of our God, do we salute you all, and do embrace you in that which is eternal, and we do greatly rejoice, and glorify the name of our heavenly Father, that he hath counted us worthy to be partakers of the death and sufferings of his blessed Son with you; though we be the least of God's flock, yet we are of the true fold, whereof Christ Jesus is the shepherd; and he hath had as tender a care over us, as he hath had of any of his lambs which he hath called forth in this the day of his power, and hath carried us through and over as great afflictions as most of our brethren and sufferers for his name, both in mocking, scoffings, scornings, reproaches, stripes, contradictions, perils at land, and perils at sea, fiery trials, cruel threatenings, grief of heart, sorrow of soul, heats and colds, fastings and watchings fears within, and fightings without: terrible temptations and persecutions, and dreadful imprisonments, and buffetings of Satan; yet in all these trials, the Lord was very gracious unto us, and did not absent himself from us, neither suffered his faithfulness to fail us, but did bear us up, and keep us

fainting in the midst of our extremity. We had not another to make our moan to, but the Lord alone; neither could we expect a drop of mercy, favour, or refreshment, but what he did distil from his living presence, and work by his own strength; for we sat one in one room, and the other in another, near a year; as owls in deserts, and as people forsaken in solitary places. Then did we enjoy the presence of the Lord, and did behold the brightness of his glory, and we did see you, our dear friends, in the light of Jesus, and did behold your order, and steadfastness of your faith and love to all saints, and were refreshed in all the faithful-hearted, and felt the issues of love and life which did stream from the hearts of those that were wholly joined to the fountain, and were made sensible of the benefit of your prayers.

"O the sorrows, the mournings, the tears! "But those that sow in tears, shall reap in joy.' A true sorrow begets a true joy; and a true cross a true crown: for when our sorrows did abound, the love of God did abound much more: the deeper the sorrows, the greater the joys; the greater the cross, the weightier the crown.

"Dear friends and brethren, marvel not that Israel is not gathered, our judgment remains with the Lord, and so do our labours; for it was not *for want* of travail, nor pain, nor love

to their souls; for we could have been contented to have fed upon the grass of the ground, so we might have had our freedom amongst them: for, had it not been for the great opposition, they would have followed after us, as chickens after an hen, both great and small. But oh! the swelling seas, the raging and foaming waves, stormy winds and floods, and deep waters, and high mountains and hills, hard rocks, rough ways, and crooked paths, tall cedars, strong oaks, fruitless trees, and corrupted ones, that cumber the ground, and hinder the righteous seed from being sown, and the noble plants from being planted. Oh! they shut up the kingdom against the simple hearted, and hide the key of knowledge from the innocent ones, and will not enter into the kingdom themselves, nor suffer them that would enter, but stir up the magistrates to form carnal weapons, thinking to prevent the Lord from taking to him his inheritance, and to dispossess his Son, who is heir of all, that he might not have a dwelling place among them, nor a habitation nigh them; because that his light will discover their darkness, and his brightness will burn up all their abominations, and mar their beauty, and stain their glory, their pomp, and their pride, that it may perish as the untimely figs, and fall as the flower of the field, and wither as the grass upon the house-top. Oh! the belly of hell, the jaws

of Satan, the whole mystery of iniquity is at the height, and all manner of abomination that makes desolate, stands where it ought not, and is upheld by a law, that upon pain of death none must speak against it, nor walk contrary to it. But praises to our God, he carried us forth to declare against it daily. Oh! the blind guides, the seducing spirits, that do cause the people to err, and compel them to worship the beast and his image, and to have his mark in their foreheads, and in their hands, and to bow to pictures and painted walls, and to worship the things of their own hands, and to fall down to that which their own fingers have fashioned, and they will not suffer them to look towards Sion upon pain of death, nor to walk towards Jerusalem upon pain of faggot and fire, but they must abide in Babel, and believe whatsoever they speak or do to be truth. But oh! the ways, the worships, the fashions, forms, customs, traditions, observations, and imaginations, which they have drawn in by their dark divinations, to keep the poor people in blindness and ignorance, so that they perish for want of knowledge, and are corrupted, because the way of truth is not made known among them; they are all in the many ways, out of the one true living way, and their ways are so many and so monstrous, that they are were-

hearsable; but the Lord our God hath kindled a fire in the midst of them, that will consume all forms, fashions, customs, and traditions of men, and will burn up the briars, thorns, and tares, stubble, and fruitless trees, and corrupted ones; and will blast all the fruits, works, and labours of wicked and ungodly men, with the mildews of his wrathful indignation, and will scatter all his enemies with the whirlwinds of his displeasure. They do not know the Scriptures: their bibles would grieve any honest heart to behold them, because of the corruption."

This letter was signed by both of them though perhaps Catharine was the writer, who also wrote a letter of exhortation to the popish inquisitor at Malta, and another to friar Malachy. Among the letters she wrote to her husband and children, I count the following really worthy to be delivered to posterity:

For the hands of John Evans, my right, dear, and precious husband, with my tender-hearted children, who are more dear and precious to me than the apple of my eye.

"Most dear and faithful husband, friend, and brother, begotten of my eternal Father, of the immortal seed of the covenant of light, life, and *blessedness*, I have unity and fellowship with

thee day and night, to my great refreshment, and continual comfort. Praises, praises be given to our God for evermore, who hath joined us together in that which neither sea nor land can separate or divide.

"My dear heart, my soul doth dearly salute thee, with my dear and precious children, who are dear and precious in the light of the Lord, to thy endless joy, and my everlasting comfort; glory be to our Lord God eternally, who hath called you with a holy calling, and hath caused his beauty to shine upon you in this the day of his power, wherein he is making up his jewels, and binding up his faithful ones in the bond of everlasting love and salvation, among whom he hath numbered you of his own free grace; in which I beseech you, dear hearts, in the fear of the Lord, to abide in your measures according to the manifestation of the revelation of the Son of God in you. Keep a diligent watch over every thought, word, and action, and let your minds be staid continually in the light, where you will find out the snares and baits of Satan, and be preserved out of his traps, nets, and pits, that you may not be captivated by him at his will. Oh, my dear husband and children, how often have I poured out my soul to the everlasting Father for you, with rivers of tears night and day, that you might be kept pure and single in the sight of our God, in-

proving your talents as wise virgins, having oil in your vessels, and your lamps burning, and clothed with the long white robes of righteousness, ready to enter the bed chamber, and to sup with the Lamb, and to feed at the feast of fat things, where your souls may be nourished, refreshed, comforted, and satisfied, never to hunger again.

"My dear hearts, you do not want teaching; you are in a land of blessedness, which floweth with milk and honey, among the faithful stewards, whose mouths are opened wide to righteousness, to declare the eternal mysteries of the everlasting kingdom, of the endless joys and eternal glory; whereinto all the willing and obedient shall enter, and be blessed for ever.

"My dear hearts, the promises of the Lord are large, and are all Yea and Amen to those that fear his name; he will comfort the mourners in Sion, and will cause the heavy-hearted in Jerusalem to rejoice, because of the glad tidings: they that do bear the cross with patience, shall wear the crown with joy; for it is through the long suffering and patient waitings, the crown of life and immortality comes to be obtained. The Lord hath exercised my patience, and tried me to the uttermost, to his praise, and my eternal comfort, who hath not been wanting to us in any thing in his own due time: we are wit*nesses he* can provide a table in the wilderness

both spiritual and temporal. Oh, the endless love of our God, who is an everlasting fountain of all living refreshment, whose crystal streams never cease running to every thirsty soul, that breatheth after the springs of life and salvation.

"In our deepest affliction, when I looked for every breath to be the last, I could not wish I had not come over the sea, because I knew it was my eternal Father's will to prove me, with my dear and faithful friend. In all afflictions and miseries, the Lord remembered mercy, and did not leave nor forsake us, nor suffer his faithfulness to fail us: but caused the sweet drops of his mercy to distil upon us, and the brightness of his glorious countenance to shine into our hearts, and was never wanting to us in revelations or visions. Oh, how may I set forth the fulness of God's love to our souls: no tongue can express it, no heart can conceive it, nor mind can comprehend it. Oh, the ravishments, the raptures, the glorious bright shining countenance of our Lord God, who is our fulness in emptiness, our health in sickness, our life in death, our joy in sorrow, our peace in disquietness, our praise in heaviness, our power in all needs or necessities; he alone is a full God unto us, and to all that can trust him. He hath emptied us of ourselves, and unbottomed us of ourselves, *and hath* wholly built us upon the

sure foundation, the rock of ages, Jesus Christ, the Light of the world, where neither the swelling seas, nor raging foaming waves, nor stormy winds, though they beat vehemently, can be able to remove us. Glory, honour and praise, is to our God for ever, who of his everlasting treasures, doth fill us with his eternal riches day by day; he doth nourish our souls with the choicest of his mercies, and doth feed our bodies with his good creatures, and relieve all our necessities in a full measure. Praises, praises be to him alone, who is our everlasting portion, our confidence, and our rejoicing, whom we serve acceptably with reverence and godly fear; for our God is a consuming fire.

"Oh, my dear husband, and precious children, you may feel the issues of love and life, which stream forth as a river to every soul of you, from a heart that is wholly joined to the fountain. My prayers are for you day and night without ceasing; beseeching the Lord God of power to shower down his tender mercies upon you, and to keep you in his pure fear, and to increase your faith, to confirm you in all righteousness, and strengthen you in believing in the name of the Lord God Almighty, that you may be established as Mount Sion, that can never be moved. Keep your souls unspotted *of the world*, and love one another with a pure *heart* fervently; serve one another in love,

build up one another in the eternal, and bear one anothers burdens for the Seed's sake, and so fulfil the law of God. This is the word of the Lord unto you, my dearly beloved.

Dear hearts, I do commit you into the hands of the Almighty, who dwelleth on high, and to the word of his grace in you, which is able to build you up to everlasting life, and eternal salvation. By me, who am thy dear and precious wife and spouse, in the marriage of the Lamb, in the bed undefiled,

"K. E."

"My dearly beloved yoke-mate in the work of our God doth dearly salute you. Salute us dearly to our precious friends in all places. I do believe we shall see your faces again with joy."

This was written in the inquisition
at Malta, in the 11th month,
in the year 1661.

The following letter was written by Sarah to her husband Henry Cheevers, and her children:

"My dear husband, my love, my life is given up to serve *the living* God, and to obey his pure

call in the measure of the manifestation of his love, light, life, and Spirit of Christ Jesus, his only begotten Son, whom he hath manifested in me, and thousands, by the brightness of his appearing, to put an end to sin and Satan, and to bring immortality to light, through the preaching of the everlasting gospel, by the spirit of prophecy, which is poured out upon the sons and daughters of the living God, according to his purpose; whereof he hath chosen me, who am the least of all: but God, who is rich in mercy, for his own name-sake hath passed by my offences and hath counted me worthy to bear testimony to his holy name, before the mighty men of the earth. Oh the love of the Lord to my soul! My tongue cannot express, neither hath it entered into the heart of man, to conceive of the things that God hath laid up for them that fear him.

"Therefore doth my soul breathe to my God for thee and my children, night and day, that your minds may be joined to the light of the Lord Jesus, to lead you out of Satan's kingdom, into the kingdom of God, where we may enjoy one another in the life eternal, where neither sea nor land can separate; in which light and life do I salute thee my dear husband, with my children, wishing you to embrace God's love, in making his truth so clearly manifest amongst you; whereof I am a witness, even of the ever-

lasting fountain that hath been opened by the messengers of Christ, who preach to you the word of God, in season and out of season, directing you where you may find your Saviour, to purge and cleanse you from your sins, and to reconcile you to his Father, and to have unity with him and all the saints, in the light, that ye may be fellow-citizens in the kingdom of glory, rest, and peace, which Christ hath purchased for them that love him, and obey him. What profit is there for to gain the whole world, and lose your own souls? Seek first the kingdom of God and the righteousness thereof, and all other things shall be added unto you. Godliness is great gain, having the promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come; which is fulfilled to me, who have tasted of the Lord's endless love and mercies to my soul: and from the moving of the same love and life do I breathe to thee my dear husband, with my children, my dear love salutes you all; my prayers to my God are for you all, that your minds may be joined to the light, wherewith you are lightened, that I may enjoy you in that which is eternal, and have communion with you in the spirit. He that is joined to the Lord, is one spirit, one heart, one mind, one soul; to serve the Lord with one consent. I cannot by pen or paper set forth the large of love God in fulfilling his gracious promises to me in the wilderness

being put into prison for God's truth, there to remain all the days of my life, being searched, tried, examined upon pain of death amongst the enemies of God and his truth; standing in jeopardy for my life, until the Lord hath subdued and brought them under by his mighty power, and made them to feed us, and to offer us money or clothes; but the Lord did deck our table richly in the wilderness. The day of the Lord is appearing, wherein he will discover every deed of darkness, let it be done ever so secretly; the light of Christ Jesus will make it manifest in every conscience: the Lord will rip up all coverings that are not of his own spirit. The God of peace be with you all. Amen.

"Written in the inquisition prison by
"Sarah Cheevers."

Many other letters did she and Catharine write to their husbands, friends, and relations. But since great part of my narrative was fetched from thence, I pass them by. But by these inserted, one may see that they were not women of a dull temper, but ingenious and cheerful.

In a letter of Sarah's to her friends in Ireland, I find these words:

"My life is given up to the service of the Lord: bonds, chains, bolts, irons, double doors,

death itself, is too little for the testimony of Jesus, and for the word of God: so the seed be gathered, it is but a reasonable sacrifice. Bonds and afflictions betide the gospel of Christ. Those that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.

And in a letter to Daniel Baker, Catharine said,

"The time is too little for me to disclose the twentieth part of the terrible trials; but whensoever we were brought upon any trial, the Lord did take away all fear from us, and multiplied our strength, and gave us power and boldness to plead for the truth of the Lord Jesus, and wisdom of words to stop the mouths of the gainsayers; but then they would say, we had not the true faith, but we had all virtues. Dearly beloved, pray for us, that we fall not, nor fail; whereby our enemies may have any advantage to rejoice, and say, we served a God that could not save us, and called upon a God that could not deliver us; as if we were like them, to call upon stocks, stones, pictures, and painted walls, and dead things, that cannot hear, see, nor speak. We do beseech thee to tell all our dear friends, fathers, and elders, the pillars of the spiritual building, with all the rest of our Christian brethren, that we do desire their prayers, for we have need of them."

This letter they concluded with the following Poem:

HOW strong and powerful is our King
To all that do believe in him!
He doth preserve them from the snare,
And teeth of those that would them tear.

We that are sufferers for the seed,
Our hearts are wounded, and do bleed
To see th' oppression, cruelty
Of men that do thy truth deny.

In prisons strong, and dungeons deep,
To God alone we cry and weep:
Our sorrows none can learn nor read,
But those that in our path do tread.

But he whose beauty shineth bright,
Who turneth darkness into light,
Makes cedars bow, and oaks to bend
To him that's sent to the same end.

He is a fountain pure and clear
His crystal streams run far and near
To cleanse all those that come to him
For to be healed of their sin.

All them that patiently abide,
And never swerve nor go aside,
The Lord will free them out of all
Bondage, captivity, and thral.

They composed several other poems, which fell into the hands of their enemies, and copies of them were given to the inquisitor. But now I leave them; and yet before I return to transactions in England, I shall relate a singular case of Daniel Baker, who being come to Smyrna, with intent to travel from thence to Constantinople, was stopped by the English consul, and sent to the Isle of Zante, where a ship lay bound for Venice, in which he embarked, and coming into that city, he staid there a week, and thence to Leghorn, with intent to take shipping there for England; but during his stay in that place he inwardly felt drawings towards Malta, to try whether he could be helpful to Catharine and Sarah that were prisoners there, since he had several times been stirred up thereto; and though the difficulty of the matters had kept him back, yet he could not have peace in his mind, before he gave himself up to that service; and so he embarked in a French ship for Sicily: and coming to Syracuse he staid there five days, and then set sail for Malta; where being arrived, he got admittance to the pope's inquisitor, to whom he spoke in the Italian tongue on this wise: "I am come to demand the just liberty of my innocent friends, the English women in prison in the inquisition." The inquisitor asked him if he were related to them as a husband or kinsman, and whether he came out of England on purpose

with that message. To this Daniel answe
that he came from Leghorn for that same
But the inquisitor told him they should abi
prison till they died, except some English
chants, or others that were able, would en
for the value of three or four thousand do
that they should never return into those p
His request being thus denied, he went to
English consul, and spoke with him and se
others: but all his endeavours proved in v
and he himself was threatened with the inq
tion; and the pope's deputy would have had
bound, that he should neither speak good
evil to any body, while he was on the island,
to him and the consul.

After a stay here of three weeks, he pa
again to Italy, and from thence took ship
for England: but being come into the st
of Gibraltar, he saw that the high mou
there, was the same place he had seen in
foregoing year in a dream, when prisone
Worcester jail in England. Here the ship wh
in he was with several other vessels lay abo
month, because of the contrary wind, so that
could not set sail. In the meanwhile being u
a burden, he perceived there was a service
him ashore; but, considering this to be dan
ous, he wished to have been excused from it;
felt no peace before he fully gave up,
though bonds or death might ensue. Whils

fleet lay here windbound, divers ships attempted to pass through, but could not: and the like temptation attended him as that of Jonah, viz. to flee from the place, and so to escape the burden under which he laboured. But he found, as he afterwards signified in a printed relation, that obedience was his duty, though it was required of him to be a sign against the idolatry of the church of Rome. He then told the master of the ship in which he was a passenger something of the matter, and said that he believed that God would soon give opportunity for the fleet to pass away, after this service was performed. The master was hard to be persuaded to put him ashore, yet at length he suffered it, upon the day they used to call Maunday Thursday. Being now landed, he went to the town, and so into the mass-house, where he found the priest at the high altar, upon his knees, in his white surplice, adoring the host. After he had a while been viewing this idolatry, he felt the indignation of God kindled in his heart against it: and turning his back upon the priest and his image, he set his face towards the people, and saw the multitude upon their knees also, worshipping they knew not what. In this posture, spreading forth his arms, he slipped off his upper garment, and rent it from top to bottom in divers pieces, which he cast from him with indignation: then he took his hat from off his head, as

being the uppermost covering of man; and casting it down, stamped upon it with his feet, and appearing in sackcloth covering, he with a loud voice, thrice sounded repentance, and said that the life of Christ and his saints was arisen from the dead. And so he passed away unmolested, sounding the same message of repentance through the streets, till he came to the sea-side, where he kneeled down to pray, and give thanks to the Lord for his wonderful preservation, and that he had suffered no man to touch or do him any harm. Being on shore, he delivered a paper, written in the Spanish tongue, to the governor and inhabitants of Gibraltar, with some Latin books. That to the governor, &c. was as followeth:

"Behold, behold, the great day of God is come, and of his wrath, and of the wrath of his Lamb. The hour of his judgment is come. Wherefore, oh inhabitants of the earth, repent, repent, repent! fear God, and give glory and honour to him that made heaven and earth and the fountains of waters. Woe, woe, woe to the inhabitants of the earth. John heard another voice from heaven saying, Come out of her my people, that ye partake not of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. These are the words of the power of Christ, that is contrary to the *false* church. Behold, behold, plagues, plagues,

plagues are coming upon the church of Rome, and upon her heads in all parts of the world."

Daniel being now come again on ship-board, the next day the Lord gave them a fair wind, and all the fleet set sail; and after some time he arrived safe in England. But being come to London, it was not long, ere he, who had travelled without hurt in foreign parts was imprisoned by his countrymen, as will be related hereafter: and being shut up in prison, he wrote a narrative of his travels, from which I took my relation.

About this time John Stubbs returned into England, having been in the dominions of the great Turk. But I do not find that he met with any singular occurrences, but that he had spread some books. He and Alexander Parker coming to London, found G. Fox there, with whom they travelled towards Bristol: by the way they had several meetings, and being come to Bristol, they understood that the officers were likely to come and disturb the meeting. Yet on the first day of the week they went thither, and A. Parker stood up first to preach; but while he was speaking the officers came and took him away. Then G. Fox stood up, and preached undisturbed, so that the meeting ended peaceably. And he, staying in town that week, visited his friends, and was visited by them.

The next first day some of his friends came to him, and endeavoured to persuade him not to go to the meeting that day: "for," said they, "the magistrates have threatened to take thee away, and in order thereto have raised the trained bands." G. Fox desired them to go their way to the meeting, without telling them what he intended to do. Yet not long after he went thither: but being met by some of his friends, they did what they could to stop him; and, "What," said one, "wilt thou go into the mouth of the beast?" "Wilt thou go into the mouth of the dragon?" said another. But G. Fox would not suffer himself to be thus prevented, but went on. Being come thither he perceived a concern and fear upon his friends for him, but his preaching there was so powerful, that all fear departed from them; and having concluded his sermon with a prayer, he stood up again and told the auditory, now they might see there was a God in Israel that could deliver: for the officers and soldiers had been breaking up another meeting, which had taken up their time: and they were in a great rage that they had missed him; for it was resolved on now to persecute the Quakers, and if possible, to root them out.

G. Fox, after having tarried yet some days at Bristol, went through Wiltshire and Berkshire back again to London: yet he did not

stay long there, but travelled toward Leicestershire, and passing by Barnet Hills, he found there one captain Brown, a Baptist, whose wife belonged to the society of those called Quakers. This captain, for fear his wife should go to meetings and be cast into prison, had left his house at Barrow, and taken a place on the said hills, thinking himself more safe there. G. Fox going to see the wife, and being come into the house, asked him how he did : "How I do," said he, "the plagues and vengeance of God are upon me, a runagate, a Cain as I am : God may look for a witness for me, and such as me; for if all were no more faithful than I, God would have no witness left in the earth." In this condition Brown lived there on bread and water, and thought it too good for him; but at length he returned with his wife to his own house at Barrow, where he came to be convinced of the truth professed by those called Quakers, and died in it; and a little before his death, he said that though he had not borne a testimony for truth in his life, he would bear a testimony in his death; desiring to be buried in his orchard in a plain way.

But I return to G. Fox, who being come into Leicestershire, went to Swanington, to the house of a widow woman, where at night came one called the Lord Beaumont, and a company of soldiers, who took him out of the hall where he

was, and brought him to the said lord, who asked him his name: to which he answered, "My name is George Fox, and I am well known by that name." "Aye," said Beaumont, "you are known all the world over." Then he put his hands into George's pockets to search them, and pulled out his comb case, and afterwards commanded one of the officers to search for letters: which made G. Fox say that he was no letter carrier, asking him why he came amongst a peaceable people with swords and pistols without a constable; since this was contrary to the king's proclamation; and it could not be said there was a meeting; for G. Fox had been talking in the hall only with the widow woman and her daughter. Beaumont sending then for the constables, gave them charge to watch G. Fox, and some that were with him that night: accordingly the constables set a watch upon them, and next morning brought them to Beaumont's house, who then told them they met contrary to the act; for not long before this time the parliament by the instigation of the clergy, had made an act against conventicles, containing that if any were convicted of having been at a conventicle, they should incur a fine not exceeding five pounds, or imprisonment not above three months. G. Fox saying to the lord Beaumont that he did *not find* them in a meeting, and so there was no

transgression of the said act, Beaumont asked him whether he would take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: to which G. Fox answered, "I never took any oath in all my life." And desired him to shew that oath, that they might see whether it was not for the discovery of Popish recusants. But Beaumont being unwilling, caused a mittimus to be made, which mentioned that they were to have had a meeting: a cunning artifice indeed to vex an innocent people. And with the mittimus he charged the constables to convey them to Leicester jail The constable who was charged to bring G. Fox and his friends to prison, was loath to do it himself, and being harvest time, it was hard to get any body to go with them; and therefore they would have given them the mittimus to carry it themselves to the goaler. This they refused, though sometimes some of their friends had done so; for the constables had such experience of their fidelity, that they durst trust them even in such a case, without fearing the bird would escape. Then the constable hired a poor man; who was loath to go with them on this errand. Yet they rode with him through the country, being five in number, and some carried their bibles open in their hands, and passing through towns, they told people they were the prisoners of the Lord Jesus Christ, *going* to suffer bonds for him

name's sake. Being come to Leicester, and gone into an inn, the master of the house seemed somewhat troubled that they should go to prison; but they being unwilling to consult with lawyers, to which they were advised, suffered themselves to be had to prison: where being come, G. Fox asked whether the gaoler or his wife was master: and it was told him, "The wife," who though she was lame, and not able to go without crutches, yet would beat her husband when he came within her reach, if he did not do as she would have him.

G. Fox perceiving from this that without her leave he should not be able to agree with her husband, got somebody to bargain with her for a room, for him and his friends, and to leave it to them to give her what they would; to which she consented. But then it was told the prisoners, the gaoler would not suffer them to fetch any drink out of the town into the prison; but what beer they drank they must take it of him, and that, as was easily to be guessed should be at a dear rate.

This made G. Fox say, he could remedy that; for since the gaoler could not deny them water, he would get a pail of it once a day and put some wormwood into it, and that might serve their turn. So long as G. Fox was in prison there, he and his friends had a meeting every *first* day of the week in the yard, to which came

not only the debtors and felons that were prisoners, but also several people out of the town and country; whereby many were convinced of the truth he preached, and continued to be faithful witnesses for it.

Whilst G. Fox was confined there, several more of his friends were sent to prison, to the number of about twenty. And when the sessions came they were brought before the justices, who tendered to them the oaths of allegiance and supremacy: for this was the ordinary snare, when no other thing could be found to lay hold on. But G. Fox told them he never took any oath in his life; "And ye know we cannot swear, because Christ and his apostles forbad it; and therefore this is but as a snare to us; yet if ye can prove that after Christ and his apostles forbad swearing, they ever did command Christians to swear, then we will take these oaths; otherwise we are resolved to obey Christ's command, and the apostle's exhortation." To this it was returned that they must take the oath to manifest their allegiance to the king. G. Fox, to shew that he was not unfaithful to the king, told them, that formerly he had been sent up a prisoner by colonel Hacker, from that town to London, under pretence that he held meetings to plot for bringing in king Charles. Then he desired that their mittimus might be read, which set forth the

cause of their commitment to be, that they were to have a meeting. And he said also, that the lord Beaumont could not by the act send them to gaol, unless they had been taken at a meeting; and therefore he urged the reading of the mittimus, that it might be seen how wrongly they were imprisoned. But whatever he said, they would not take notice of the mittimus, but called a jury and indicted the prisoners, for refusing to take the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. When the jury was sworn and instructed, as they were going out, one that had been an alderman spoke to them, and recommended them to have a good conscience: but one of the jury being a peevish man, told the justices there was one affronted the jury. Whereupon he was called up, and to try whether he was a Quaker, the oath was also tendered to him, and he took it; and thus the snare intended against him did not hold.

Whilst the prisoners stood waiting, a cut purse had put his hand into the pockets of some of them, which they told the justices of, and shewed them the man. They then called him up, and upon examination he could not deny the fact, yet they let him go free, just as if the robbing of those called Quakers was no crime.

It was not long before the jury returned and brought the prisoners in guilty. And then the *justices* whispered together, and bade the gaoler

take the prisoners and carry them back to gaol. But a little after they were in prison again, the gaoler came to them and said "Gentlemen, it is the court's pleasure that ye should all be set at liberty," &c. Thus they were released on a sudden, which was indeed remarkable, because the jury had brought them in guilty; on which passing of sentence must have followed. But G. Fox's liberty seems to have been owing to the following cause: he had a letter from the lord Hastings, who having heard of his imprisonment, had written from London to the justices of the sessions to set him at liberty. This letter he had not as yet delivered to the justices, who perhaps had some knowledge of the said lord's mind from another hand, which made them resolve on this sudden discharge. G. Fox being now free, carried this letter to the lord Beaumont, who having opened and read it, seemed somewhat troubled; and yet threatened him, if he had any more meetings at Swanington, he would disperse them, and send him to prison again. But notwithstanding these threatenings, he and his friends went to Swanington, and had a meeting there, without being disturbed. From thence he travelled to London, where we will leave him, and in the meanwhile see what happened elsewhere.

Some time before, Thomas Goodair and Benjamin *Staples were* imprisoned at Oxford, and

being brought into the court of judicature before Sir William Walter, who sat there as judge, and Goodair being examined and nothing found against him, the oath of allegiance was tendered, to which he answered, that he acknowledged the king as supreme ruler in civil temporal matters, and that he was willing to obey him in all just commands. "But," said he, "if king Charles, and those who are in authority under him, enjoin me to any thing contrary to the command of Christ, then I will rather obey Christ than king Charles, or those in authority under him. It is for conscience sake that I cannot swear, though I could gain the whole world thereby; for Christ hath forbidden it, and said "Swear not at all;" and James saith "Above all things swear not." But whatever Goodair said was in vain, for they would needs have him swear. He continuing to refuse swearing, justice Walker asked those that were with him on the bench, whether they had any thing to say against his passing sentence against them: to which they having said no, he spoke thus to Goodair, "Hearken to your sentence; you are out of the king's protection. All your lands, real estate and chattels are forfeited, and shall be seized for the king's use: and you are to remain prisoner during the king's pleasure." *Then* he bade the gaoler take Goodair away, *who* asked whether the gaoler had charge to

fetter him; for he had been fettered as thieves and felons, before he had been brought into the court. Whereupon the judge answered "The gaoler may do with you what he will: for you are now out of the king's protection." Then he was led away, and B. Staples brought to the bar, to whom the oath being also tendered, and he refusing to take it, the same sentence was passed on him. Both being returned to prison, the gaoler said to the other prisoners that were there for evil or debts, "If ye want coats ye may take those of the Quakers, for they are now out of the protection of the law." But one of the prisoners was so honest as to say he would rather go naked, than take away those mens coats. How long they were in prison, and whether they died there, or were at length released, I know not.†

But now I return to Ambrose Rigg, who being come to Hurstpierpoint in Sussex, had a meeting there at the house of his father in law, captain Thomas Luxford; this so displeased the priest Leonard Letchford, that Rigg was taken and brought before the justices, Walter Burril, Nisel Rivers, and Richard Bridger, who being

† They both were supposed to be discharged at the next general gaol delivery: for T. Goodair in 1666, had been imprisoned at Warwick, being premunired without legal trial or judgment, At length he died at Selby in Yorkshire, 1693.—J Whiting's account.

minded to bring him under sufferings, tendered him the oath of allegiance; and he, saying that for conscience sake he could not swear, was forthwith sent to Horsham prison, and at the time of the assizes brought into the court, where judge Samuel Brown then sat, and passed the sentence of premunire upon him. Then he was carried back, and by the instigation of the said Leonard Letchford, committed close prisoner, where he continued above ten years, and suffered during that time much hardship by the malice of the gaolers, since such prisoners as he was, are shut out of the king's protection. In the meanwhile the aforesaid priest Letchford, summoned Rigg's wife for tithes, and she refusing payment, was also imprisoned at the prosecution of the priest; and then he seized her goods, taking away also that which her husband had earned in prison by his hand labour, not leaving him and his wife a bed to lie on; nay, he also took away a pot they had borrowed from other prisoners to boil victuals in, and vaunted he had Rigg so fast, that it was not in the king's power to release him. But notwithstanding his wicked boast, yet to his great disquiet and vexation, he lived to see Rigg released by the king under the great seal. And Thomas Luxford, A. Rigg's father in law, being also become one of the society of those called Quakers, and refusing to pay him tithes, felt likewise the effect of his



fury; for he caused him also to be cast in gaol, where he kept him six years; and the pri soners being then released by the sheriff, he wa excommunicated by Letchford, and afterwards at his suit, by virtue of the statute De Excommunicatio capiendo, shut up again in prison, from which he was set at liberty by an act of parliament.

Not long after, Letchford got a warrant to sue also some others of the Quakers, so called, belonging to his parish, for not paying tithes: but before he could get them imprisoned, it happened that having at night gone to bed healthy, in the morning he was found stiff dead in his bed, according to the testimony of his neighbours; and this prevented the stroke he had levelled against others.

Not being willing to finish this relation abruptly, I am advanced in time, but now I return to the year 1662. In the middle of this year, sir Henry Vane and John Lambert, both vigorous champions against King Charles the first, and having been in great authority under the former government, were brought to their trial. Vane behaved himself with very great presence of mind: how far he was guilty I am not able to inquire; but he was declared guilty, and afterwards beheaded on Tower hill. He was reputed to be a man of great knowledge, having been one of the chief members of the long par-

lament, and also an opposer of Cromwell: for he was an entire republican, and had a great share in the administration of state affairs. Lambert, who had been an eminent general saved his life: for since Vane, as Ludlow saith, pleaded for the lives and liberties of his country and Lambert for his own, he evaded the storm, which took away Vane. Lambert now, though condemned to death, begged mercy, and was confined to perpetual imprisonment, and carried to a small isle near Plymouth, where he finished his days.

Seeing on the insurrection of the fifth monarchy men, occasion was taken to make an act against plotting, and seditious meetings, the persecution against the Quakers increased, under a pretence that their meetings were dangerous, and to the terror of the king's subjects, and an act was made against those who refused to take an oath as appeared by the title of it, viz.

An act for preventing mischiefs and dangers that may arise by certain persons called Quakers, and others refusing to take lawful oaths.

"Whereas of late times, certain persons under the name of Quakers, and other names of *separation* have taken up, and maintained sundry *dangerous* opinions and tenets, and (amongst



others) that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, although before a lawful magistrate, is altogether unlawful, and contrary to the word of God, and the said persons do daily refuse to take an oath, though lawfully tendered, whereby it often happens, that the truth is wholly suppressed, and the administration of justice much obstructed: and whereas the said persons, under a pretence of religious worship, do often assemble themselves in great numbers in several parts of this realm, to the great endangering the public peace and safety, and to the terror of the people, by maintaining a secret and strict correspondence amongst themselves, and in the mean time separating and dividing themselves from the rest of his majesty's good and loyal subjects, and from the public congregations, and usual places of divine worship:

"II. For the redressing therefore, and better preventing the many mischiefs and dangers that do, and may arise by such dangerous tenets, and such unlawful assemblies. (2) Be it enacted by the king's most excellent majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the lords spiritual and temporal, and commons assembled in parliament, and by authority of the same, that if any person or persons, who maintain that the taking of an oath, in any case soever (although before a lawful magistrate) is altogether unlawful, *and contrary* to the word of God, from and

after the four and twentieth day of March, in this present year of our Lord, one thousand six hundred and sixty one, shall wilfully and obstinately refuse to take an oath, whereby the laws of the realm he or she is, or shall be bound to take the same, being lawfully and duly tendered, (3) or shall endeavour to persuade any other person, to whom any such oath shall in like manner be duly and lawfully tendered, to refuse, and forbear the taking of the same, (4) or shall by printing, writing, or otherwise, go about to maintain and defend that the taking of an oath in any case whatsoever, is altogether unlawful; (5) and if the said persons commonly called Quakers, shall at any time after the said four and twentieth day of March, depart from the places of their several habitations, and assemble themselves to the number of five, or more, of the age of sixteen years, or upwards, at any one time, in any place, under pretence of joining in a religious worship, not authorised by the laws of this realm, (6) that then in all and every such cases, the party so offending, being thereof lawfully convicted, by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact, shall lose and forfeit to the king's majesty, his heirs and successors, for the first offence, such sum as shall be imposed upon him or her, not exceeding five pounds; (7) and if any person, or persons, being once

convicted of any such offence, shall again offend therein, and shall in form aforesaid be thereof lawfully convicted, shall for the second offence forfeit to the king, our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, such sum as shall be imposed upon him or her, not exceeding ten pounds: (8) the said respective penalties to be levied by distress, and sale of the parties goods so convicted, by warrant of the parties before whom they shall be so convicted, rendering the overplus to the owners, if any be; (9) and for want of such distress or nonpayment of the said penalty within one week after such conviction, that then the said parties so convicted, shall for the first offence be committed to the common gaol, or house of correction, for the space of three months; and for the second offence, during six months, without bail or mainprize, there to be kept to hard labour: (10) which said monies so to be levied, shall be paid to such person or persons, as shall be appointed by those before whom they shall be convicted, to be employed for the increase of the stock of the house of correction, to which they shall be committed, and providing materials to set them on work: (11) and if any person after he, in form aforesaid, hath been twice convicted of any the said offences, shall offend the third time, and be thereof, in the form aforesaid,

lawfully convicted, that then every person so offending, and convict, shall for his or her third offence, abjure the realm; or otherwise it shall and may be lawful to, and for his majesty, his heirs and successors, to give order, and to cause him, her, or them, to be transported in any ship or ships, to any of his majesty's plantations beyond the seas.

III. "And it is ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that all and every justice of *oyer* and *terminer*, justices of assize, and gaol delivery, and the justices of the peace, shall have full power and authority, in every of their open and general quarter-sessions, to enquire, hear and determine all and every the said offences, within the limits of their commission to them directed, and to make process for the execution of the same, as they may do against any person being indicted before them of trespass, or lawfully convicted thereof.

IV. "And be it also enacted, that it shall, and may be lawful to, and for any justice of peace, mayor, or other chief officer, of any corporation, within their several jurisdictions to commit to the common gaol, or bind over with sufficient sureties to the quarter-sessions, any person or persons offending in the premises, in order to his or other conviction *aforesaid*.

V. "Provided always, and be it hereby fur-



ther enacted, that if any of the said persons shall, after such conviction aforesaid, take such oath or oaths, for which he or she stands committed, and also give security that he or she, shall for the time to come forbear to meet in any such unlawful assembly as aforesaid, that then, and from thenceforth, such person and persons shall be discharged from all the penalties aforesaid; any thing in this act to the contrary notwithstanding.

VI. "Provided always, and be it ordained and enacted by the authority aforesaid, that all and singular lords of the parliament, for every third offence committed against the tenor of this act, shall be tried by their peers, and not otherwise."

This act caused E. Burrough to write a small book, called, "The Case of the people called Quakers, stated, to shew the falsehood of the accusations charged upon them." First he shewed in this treatise, that suppose the Quakers were hereticks and erroneous people, which was never yet proved; yet we found no examples in Scripture that such should be imprisoned, or afflicted with corporal punishments. Having treated of this matter at large, he laid down the state of their way of meeting and worship, appealing to others on this account, *with these words:*

"What judgment do our neighbours give in this case? They say concerning our meetings, that they have known us to meet together in such manner, for divers years, in towns and villages, and never knew, nor understood of any harm or danger therein, nor ever were any way prejudiced, either in their persons or estates, in our meetings. The very witness of God in all our neighbours does testify, and give judgment, that our meetings have always been peaceable and quiet, and that we come together in peace and good order, and part in the same, and no person hath been harmed by such our meetings; enquire of the neighbourhood, and they will tell you, they believe in their consciences, our meetings are for good, and have good effects, and are not evil, nor bring forth any evil to any.

"And as for the manner of our meeting and sitting together, it is orderly and decently, and of good report among men; and for any doctrine that ever was there held, or heard by any, none can truly accuse it to be either error, or heresy, or sedition; but on the contrary, they know it witnesseth against all sin and iniquity, and tends to the turning of people from ungodliness to righteousness, to truth and holiness and many can tell, this is effected by our *doctrine* preached in our meetings: and our *neighbours* can witness, that we part again

peace and good order, and in convenient time; and they can shew you, they are not terrified, nor the peace of the land disturbed (on our part) by our meetings, which are in God's fear, and to the glory of his name, which all sober men know, are according to the law of God, and gospel, and primitive Christian example.

"We are accused as heinous offenders, and imprisoned, because it is supposed we do not submit to obey the known laws of the land, but break them, and will not conform to the church, pay tithes, take oaths, have meetings together, &c. though we know the laws of the land command these things.

"Plea, first, as to submitting to all known laws of the land; this is known to God and our neighbours, that our principle and practice is, and ever hath been to submit to every government, and to submit to all laws of men, either by doing or by suffering, as at this day, we resist not the greatest of afflictions and tribulations that can be imposed on us; and this is well known to our neighbours and all people, that we are submissive to all laws of men, by patient suffering without resistance; even when any law requires any thing of us, which we cannot perform for conscience-sake, that law we *fulfil by* patient suffering, resisting no man

nor rendering evil for evil to any. And the judgment of the Scriptures, which are according both to law and gospel, and the precedents of saints justify us in this case, in choosing patiently to suffer the greatest penalties of the law, rather than to obey (by doing) any such law as requires things contrary to our pure consciences; as in the example of the three children, Dan. iii. who were commanded, to fall down and worship the golden image, at what time soever they heard the sound of the music, upon the penalty of being cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace: which commandment they could not obey, nor could they fall down to worship the image; but rather chose to suffer the penalty of being cast into the midst of the burning fiery furnace, which accordingly was done unto them. Again, in the case of Daniel, chap. vi. who was commanded, to make no petition to any God or man for thirty days, save to king Darius, upon the penalty and affliction of being cast into the Lions' den: but Daniel did rather choose to suffer the penalty, to be cast into the den of Lions, than to obey the commandment; and was cast into the Lions' den. By these examples of holy men, with many more that might be given out of the Scriptures, it is evident, that righteous men *will rather* choose to suffer, than to obey any *law of man* contrary to their consciences. So



the law of God, and the example of saints, and the holy Scriptures, give judgment for us in this case, of rather choosing to suffer, than to obey laws contrary to our consciences; and consequently must needs condemn such that persecute and imprison us, because they require obedience of us in things against our consciences.

"Secondly. Though we disobey laws, and cannot actively obey every law of man, when it requireth and commandeth things contrary to a good conscience; yet herein also are we justified, by the law of God's example, of saints, and holy Scriptures, and they give judgment for us, and consequently against our enemies in this case; and particularly in the two examples before-mentioned in Daniel, the three children were expressly commanded, to fall down and worship the golden image; and Daniel was also required by the king's decree, not to pray to any god or man, save to king Darius; yet all these holy men of God did absolutely disobey the law and decree so requiring of them, and did contrary to the commandment: for the three children did not bow, nor Daniel cease to pray to God, but prayed as at other times, and yet were justified of God in so doing. Also the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ (Acts iv. 18.) were commanded to preach no more in the name of *Jesus: but* the apostles did disobey their

commandment, and went on and preached in the Spirit and power of Christ, contrary to the commandment of the rulers and appealed to them, whether it were not better to obey God than man. Many examples we might collect out of the Scriptures, that the servants of God did disobey the commands of kings and rulers, and could not obey (by doing) any command contrary to God; but rather chose to suffer afflictions, and death itself, than to obey such laws and decrees, as required any thing contrary to a pure conscience: and this is our case at this day; we cannot obey (by doing) any thing against our consciences, but must break the laws of men, and disobey their commandments, rather than break the law of God, and sin against our own consciences, whatsoever we suffer because hereof; and the examples of saints and Scriptures justify us in this behalf.

"And let all our enemies cease to cry out "Rebellious and disobedient to law and government;" for we are not such as do wilfully and obstinately disobey any laws of men, but for conscience sake, and that we may not sin against God, nor offend his witness in us; therefore we cannot obey laws contrary to our consciences, whatsoever we suffer, while we *resist not*, nor rebel against any in this case; *so that* our principles and practices are to obey

every law and government, either by doing or suffering. And though we disobey such laws as are not according to the law of God, and rather do choose to suffer, yet herein we are justified by the law of God, and the holy Scriptures.

Thirdly. "And as for our conversation among men, in respect of our daily walking and converse with them in our dealing, in respect of honesty and faithfulness, and truth and justice in works and words, our neighbours shall give witness for us. We will not justify ourselves, it is God that justifies us, and the law of God, the gospel of Christ, the Scriptures, the examples of holy men, our neighbours, and the witness of God in all mens' consciences shall bear witness to us; and all these do give judgment for us in these cases, to whom we do appeal for judgment. And. O Lord God everlasting, do thou judge our cause; do thou make it manifest in thy due season to all the world, that we are thy people; that we love thee above all, that we fear thy name more than all; that we love righteousness and hate iniquity; and that we now suffer for thy holy name and truth, and for thy honour and justice, and for thy truth and holiness. O Lord, thou knowest we are resolved to perish, rather than to lose one grain hereof. Amen, *Amen.*

"Our accusations and answers truly compared and weighed in the balance of justice and truth in every man's conscience, let all the world judge of the case; do we deserve to be ruined, destroyed, imprisoned, and banished, and to be devoured of wild beasts, as our enemy threatens us he will do? Is it so? Are we hereticks? Are we seditious? Are we drunkards? Are we double dealers? Are we such as the law of God condemns? What evil have we done in the land? Do we hurt any body? Are we not innocent before the Lord and men? We appeal to the just witness of God and men. Let it be answered; and though no man will hear and consider our cause this day, yet the Lord will plead our cause in his time and season, and make the world to know we are his people; in the mean time we are willing to suffer the reproaches of ungodly men, till the Lord works deliverance in the earth.

"But now it may be objected by the magistrates and rulers, that we have now a law against you, and you must suffer, for we cannot but put the law in execution, according to our oaths and offices; and it is not we that persecute you, but it is the law of the land, by which you now suffer; and we cannot be blamed for your suffering, *we only* execute the law. And after this manner *is the reasoning* of some at this day," &c.

Answer. "To all which I do answer: it is true, there is a law now enacted against us, which is pretendedly made the ground of our suffering; but whether that law be in itself just or unjust, I shall not now demonstrate, but shall leave it to the judgment of all Christian men that know us, our principles, doctrines, ways and conversation, and let them judge whether we deserve the penalties and punishments therein described, for any principles or practice held and maintained by us. And though there be a law against us, yet the magistrates that are executors thereof, may execute the same with moderation or with violence; with discretion, or too much rigour; and it will be well for them to use moderation and discretion in this case; hereby may they save themselves from that weight of anger and indignation of the Lord God that will come upon all violent doers, who seek to destroy the innocent, and rejoice in the occasion administered.

"And though this law be enacted against meetings, not ours I may say, but such meetings as are dangerous to the public peace, and to the terror of the people: but our meetings are not such, and therefore this law may not justly extend in its execution to the breaking up of our meetings, nor to banish us because of our meeting together, which is for the worship of God

and are peaceable and of good report among all good men; and are not for disturbance of the peace, nor terror of the people, and therefore justly free from this law as aforesaid.

And though this law is pretended against us, for to banish us, and to rid the land of us, as some vainly suppose; yet must it needs be executed to the height of it, without limitation or restriction? Must this law be executed to its height more than some other laws that are as truly enacted, and as fully in force as this act can be? Yet some such laws there are, which better deserve execution than this, yet they lie dormant, as is visibly apparent this day, as 4 Jac. c. 5, in these words: "Be it enacted, &c. that all, and every person or persons, which after forty days next following the end of this present session of parliament, shall be drunk, and of the same offence of drunkenness shall be lawfully convicted, shall for every such offence, forfeit and lose five shillings, &c. to be paid to the hands of the churchwardens of that parish where the offence shall be committed, who shall be accountable thereof for the use of the poor of the same parish. And if the said person or persons so convicted, shall refuse or neglect to pay the said forfeiture, then the same shall be levied on the goods of every *such* person or persons, by warrant of precept *from the* court, judge, or justices, before whom

the same conviction shall be; and if the offender be not able to pay the sum of five shillings, then he shall be committed to the stocks for the space of six hours." I pray you read the statute at large; it is worth a sober man's pains to read over, and then judge whether that law be duly executed at this day; and also whether it deserves not more strict execution than the present act against us. Also the 1 Jac. c. 7. in these words: "That all persons calling themselves scholars, going about begging; all idle persons going about in any country, either begging or using any subtle craft, or unlawful games or plays, or feigning themselves to have knowledge in physiognomy, or pretending that they can tell fortunes, or such other like fantastical imaginations; all fencers, bear-wards, common players of interludes and minstrels, wandering abroad, shall be taken, adjudged, and deemed as rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars, and shall suffer such pains and punishments as are expressed 39 Eliz. c. 4. viz. "That every such person shall be stripped naked from the middle upwards, and shall be openly whipped, until his or her body be bloody, &c. and shall be forthwith sent from parish to parish," &c. Read the statute at large, and then consider how duly it is executed now, and whether it deserves not the execution as much *as the late* act against us, though in

some places the one is more executed than the other, where many of our friends being honest sober persons, and of good conversation, yet are haled out of their meetings, where they are met only to worship God, and for no other end, and sent to prison, and persecuted to the very height of the said act; whereas idle persons following unlawful games and plays, and bearwards, common players of interludes and minstrels of divers kinds, do wander up and down city and country, and having their playhouses public, where their wickedness is acted; such persons and such things, though appearing publicly, yet are permitted, and little or no notice taken of them by some of the magistrates, so as to punish them for breach of the laws, for the preventing of these evils; but such wickedness is too much suffered, though there be divers acts of parliament against such persons and such actions, as well as there is one against our meetings; yet the act against us is more put in execution in some places, for the breaking up of our meetings, which are for the worship of God, than the good laws for suppressing wickedness, though there is better law for the one than for the other. Divers other laws and statutes made for good ends, for the suppressing of wickedness in the land there are, which are but loosely executed at this day: but here is one act against peaceably meeting together



for the worship of God, which is violently prosecuted and executed upon innocent men: let all just men judge of these things. Though there be a law enacted against our meetings, so there is against drunkards and drunkenness and unreasonable tippling in taverns and alehouses; and against minstrels, fiddlers, pipers, and players, common players and stage players, that go up and down the countries, and have their playhouses in public cities; which statutes ought rather to be executed, though they are not: but these things we shall leave to all sober people to judge of.

"And seeing that the law against us is more put in execution than these other laws, it doth appear that there is more envy against us and our peaceable religious meetings than there is against profaneness and wickedness, drunkenness, and stage-playing, and such like: and such magistrates wheresoever they are, are not excusable in the sight of God, though there is a law against us while they prosecute it against us, and not these other good laws against profane and ungodly persons and practices; and therefore seeing we do suffer, we must say it is not only because there is a law against us; but it is also, or rather, because there is enmity and wrath and wickedness in the hearts of men against us, which is the main cause of our sufferings *at this day*."

Thus was E. Burrough always laborious, and like a faithful and diligent minister of Christ, he was so totally devoted to the service of God and the church, both in preaching and writing in the defence of the gospel, that he scarcely reserved any time for himself, and seldom took rest, but continued to work incessantly till the time of his departure drew near; plainly manifesting that it really was his meat and drink to do the will of his heavenly Father; and this he endeavoured unweariedly to the end of his days.

Now I turn again to New England, where, though the murdering part was acted to the full, yet their blood thirstiness was not quenched, as may appear from the following relation I shall give of the cruel whippings inflicted on some. If I should relate all of that kind that happened there, it would make up a pretty large volume by itself; and therefore I will mention some few instances only.

Among these I meet with Josiah Southick, (whose father and mother, Laurence and Cassandra, had been of the first that were banished from Boston because of their religion, as hath been said before; and whose brother and sister had been ordered to be sold for bond slaves,) who having been in Old England, and yet finding himself obliged notwithstanding the severe law, to return to Boston, was sentenced to

be whipped at a cart's tail first at Boston, and then at Rocksbury and Dedham, when with outstretched arms, he said to those who sentenced him, "Here is my body; if ye want a farther testimony of the truth I profess, take it, and tear it to pieces; it is freely given up; and for your sentence, I matter it not:" adding further, "It is no more terrifying unto me, than if ye had taken a feather and blown it up in the air, and had said, Take heed it hurt thee not: for surely tongue cannot express nor declare the goodness and love of God to his suffering people. Then he was stripped and tied to the cart's tail in Boston, where the hangman scourged him with what vehemency he could. It is remarkable that the whip used for those cruel executions, was not of whip cord, as those in England, but of dried guts, and every string with three knots at the end, which, being fastened to a stick, the hangman many times laid on with both his hands, which must cause violent torture to the body. But all this cruelty was not able to make Josiah faint; for as he was led through the streets of Boston at the cart's tail, he sung aloud, and was heard to utter these words: "They that know God to be their strength, cannot fear what man can do." The same day he was whipped also at Rocksbury, and the next morning, it being very cold, at Dedham, where he was discharged and

turned into the wilderness; for so inhuman were these furious New England professors, that they seemed to think that whatever it was, there was nothing done amiss to the Quakers. Nay, it hath happened that being shut up with thieves, and endeavouring to turn them from their wicked lives, they have been ill treated on that account, and the thieves set at liberty lest they should turn Quakers.

At Dover in New England, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, were sentenced to very cruel whipping, only for being come there: the warrant was as followeth:

To the constables of Dover, Hampton, Salisbury, Newberry, Rowley, Ipswich, Wennam Lynn, Boston, Roxbury, Dedham, and until these vagabond Quakers are carried out of this jurisdiction.

"You, and every of you, are required in the king's majesty's name to take these vagabond Quakers, Anne Coleman, Mary Tomkins, and Alice Ambrose, and make them fast to the cart's tail, and driving the cart through your several towns, to whip them upon their naked backs, not exceeding ten stripes a piece on each of them, in each town; and so to convey them *from* constable to constable, till they are out

of this jurisdiction as you will answer it at your peril; and this shall be your warrant.

Per me,

"Richard Walden."

At Dover, dated December 22, 1662.

Cruel indeed was this order; because to whip these three tender women through eleven towns, with ten stripes a piece at each place, through a length of near eighty miles, in bitter cold weather, would have been enough to have beaten their bones bare, and their lives out of their bodies.

Now on a very cold day the deputy Walden at Dover caused these women to be stripped naked from the middle upward, and tied to a cart, and then whipped them, while the priest looked on and laughed at it; which some of their friends seeing, and taking notice of Walden's cruelty, testified against him: for which Walden put two of them in the stocks.

The women being thus whipped at Dover, were carried to Hampton, and there delivered to the constable, William Fifield, who having understood by the constable of Dover what work he had in bringing them through a deep road, thought to have daunted them, and said, "I profess you must not think to make fools of men." To which *they answered* they should be able to

deal with him as well as the other. This constable the next morning would have whipped them before day; but they refused, saying that they were not ashamed of their sufferings. Then he would have whipped them on their clothes when he had them at the cart; but they said "Set us free, or do according to thy order; which was to whip them on their naked backs. He then spoke to a woman to take off their clothes; but she said she would not do it for the world. ,'Why," said he, "I profess I will do it myself." So he stripped them, and then stood trembling with the whip in his hand, and so he did the execution, though at first he professed himself so stout. Then he carried them to Salisbury, through dirt and snow, half the leg deep; and here they were whipped again. Among the rest of the spectators Edward Wharton accidentally passing along that way, came to be one; and beholding this whipping, one Thomas Broadberry, clerk of the courts of Salisbury and Hampton, said to him, "Edward Wharton, what do you here?" "I am here," answered he, "to see your wickedness and cruelty, that so if ye kill these women, I may be able to declare how ye murdered them: for indeed their bodies were so torn that if Providence had not watched over them, they might *have* been in danger of their lives. But it fell out so that they were discharged: for the con-



stable at Salisbury, who must have carried them to Newberry, was desired by one Walter Barefoot, to make him his deputy, who thus receiving the warrant, set them at liberty; though John Wheelwright the priest, advised the constable to drive on, as his safest way.

These three women being thus unexpectedly released, went to New Quechawanah, where they had a meeting, and Shubal Drummer, the priest of the place, came also thither, and sat quiet. And the meeting being ended, he stood up and said, "Good women, ye have spoken well, and prayed well; pray what is your rule?" They answering "The spirit of God is our rule, and it ought to be thine, and all mens, to walk by;" he replied, "It is not my rule, nor I hope ever shall be." A clear evidence how prejudice may bias even discrete people; for being prepossessed thereby, men will speak sometimes rashly, without considering what.

Not long after these women returned to Dover to visit their friends; and being in a meeting the next first day of the week, the constables, Thomas Roberts, and his brother John, rushed in, and laid hands on Alice Ambrose as she was in prayer, and taking her, one by one arm, and the other by the other, they dragged her out of doors, almost a mile, with her face towards the snow, which was near knee deep *over stumps and* old trees, having put on their

old clothes on purpose not to dirty their better suits. Then they locked her up in a certain house, and so went back to fetch Mary Tomkins, whom they dragged in the same manner, which their father, old Thomas Roberts seeing, lamented, and cried "Woe that ever I was father to such wicked children." But they seemed not to matter what their father said, who had been a member of the church of Dover above twenty years; but because he no longer frequented their worship for their degeneracy, they took away his cow, which with its milk helped to support him and his wife. Mary Tomkins being brought into the house where Alice was, Anne Coleman was also fetched. Next morning they got a canoe, and threatened the women they would now do so with them, that they should be troubled with them no more; by which saying they seemed to signify they would give them up to the mercy of the sea: which made the women unwilling to go to the water side. Then one Edward Waymouth took Mary by the arms, and dragged her on her back over the stumps of trees, down a very steep hill; by which she was much bruised, and often died away. They also laid hold on Alice, whom they plucked violently into the water, and kept her swimming by the canoe, so that she was in danger of being drowned or frozen to death. Anne Coleman was also rudely dealt with, and all this in the presence of one

Hateevil Nutwel, a ruling elder, who stirred up the constables to this wicked action, and so shewed that he bore a wrong name. But the wicked intention of these men was stopped by a power from on high, for on a sudden a great tempest arose, so that they brought the women back again to the house, and about midnight they turned them out of doors in the snow, the weather being so frosty that Alice's clothes were frozen like boards. How barbarously soever these women were treated, yet the Lord was pleased to preserve and support them.

Afterwards it happened that Anne Coleman and four of her friends were whipped through Salem, Boston, and Dedham, by order of William Hawthorn, who before he was a magistrate had opposed compulsion for conscience; and when under the government of Cromwell it was proposed to make a law, that none should preach without license, he publicly said at Salem, that if ever such a law took place in New England, he should look upon it as one of the most abominable actions that was ever committed there, and that it would be as eminent a token of God's having forsaken New England, as any could be: and yet afterward this man became a fierce persecutor of those who asserted liberty of preaching; though formerly it may be, if any one had foretold him how he would be given to *persecution, he* would have said, as Hazael to

the prophet Elisha, "What is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" But to return to Anne Coleman, when she was to be whipped at Dedham, and fastened to the cart, deputy Bellingham having seen Hawthorn's warrant, said, "The warrant is firm;" and then bade the executioner go on so severely, that with the knot of the whip he split the nipple of her breast, which so tortured her, that it had almost cost her, her life; and she, who was a little weakly woman, thinking this would be her lot, said once that if she should happen to die thus, she was willing that her body should be laid before Bellingham's door, with a charge from her mouth that he was guilty of her blood.

The usage Elizabeth Hooton met with, I cannot pass by in silence, because of her age, being about sixty, who hearing of the wickedness committed by those of New-England, was moved to make a voyage to America.

In order thereto she went from England in the year 1661, having one Joan Broksup with her, a woman nearly as aged as herself, who freely resolved to be her companion; and because they could not find the master of a ship that was willing to carry them to New-England, because of the fine for every Quaker that was brought thither, they set sail towards Virginia, where they met with a ketch, which carried them part of the way, and then they went the

rest by land, and so at length came to Boston. But there they could not soon find a place of reception, because of the penalty on those who received a Quaker into their houses. Yet at length a woman received them. Next day they went to the prison to visit their friends; but the gaoler, altogether unwilling to let them in, carried them to the governor Endicot, who with much scurrilous language called them witches, and asked Elizabeth what she came for; to which she answered, "To warn thee of shedding any more innocent blood," To which he returned that he would hang more yet; but she told him he was in the hand of the Lord, who could take him away first.* This so displeased him that he sent them to prison, where many more of their friends were. After consultation they were carried two days journey into the wilderness, amongst wolves and bears; but by Providence they got to Rhode Island, where they took ship for Barbadoes, and from thence to New-England again, and so on to Boston. But then they were put into a ship which carried them to Virginia, from whence Elizabeth departed to Old England, where she staid some time in her own habitation.

But it came upon her to visit New England

* Which was fulfilled, for after that he never took away the *lives of any* more of those called Quakers.

again; and so she did, taking her daughter Elizabeth with her. And being arrived, three of the magistrates that were present, would have fined the master of the ship an hundred pounds for bringing them over contrary to law. But he telling them that Elizabeth had been with the king, and that she had liberty from him to come thither to buy her a house, this so puzzled these snarling persecutors, that they found themselves at a loss, and thus were stopped from seizing the master's goods.

Elizabeth coming to Boston, notwithstanding the rulers, went to them, and signified that she came thither to buy a house for herself to live in. She was four times at the court for that purpose, but it was denied her: and though she said that this denial would give her occasion if she went to England again, to lay it before the king, it was in vain, and had no influence upon them.

Departing then and passing through several places, she came to Cambridge, and was thrust into a stinking dungeon, where there was nothing to lie down or sit upon. Here they kept her two days and two nights, without affording her any thing to eat or drink; and because a certain man in compassion brought her a little milk, he was also cast into prison and fined five *pounds*. Being brought to the court they ordered her to be sent out of their coasts, and to



be whipped at three towns with ten stripes each. So at Cambridge she was tied to the whipping post, and lashed with ten stripes, with a three-stringed whip, with three knots at an end. At Water Town she had ten stripes more with willow rods; and to make up all, at Dedham in a cold frosty morning, she received ten cruel lashes at a cart's tail. And being thus beaten and torn, she was put on horse-back and carried many miles into the wilderness, and towards night they left her there, where were many wolves, bears, and other wild beasts, and many deep waters to pass through; but being preserved by an invisible hand, she came in the morning into a town called Rehobath being neither weary nor faint: and from thence she went to Rhode-Island, where coming to her friends, she gave thanks to God for having counted her worthy, and enabled her to suffer for his name's sake, beyond what her age and sex, morally speaking, could otherwise have borne.

After some stay there, she returned to Cambridge, about eighty miles, to fetch her linen and clothes, which the inhuman persecutors would not suffer her to take with her after they had whipped her. Having fetched these things and going back with her daughter and Sarah Coleman, an ancient woman, she was taken up by *a constable of Charleston*, and carried prisoner to

Cambridge; where being asked by one of the magistrates whose name was Daniel Goggin, wherefore she came thither, seeing they had warned her not to come there any more: she answered that she came not there of her own accord, but was forced thither, after she had been to fetch her clothes, which they would not let her take with her when she was whipped and sent away, but that now returning back she was taken up by force on the highway, and carried thither. Then the other old woman was asked whether she owned Elizabeth and her religion: to which she answered, she owned the truth. And of Elizabeth's daughter he demanded "Dost thou own thy mother's religion? "To which she was silent: and yet they were sent to the house of correction, with orders to be whipped. Next morning the executioner came betimes before it was light, and asked them whether they would be whipped there; which made Elizabeth ask whether he was come to take their blood in the dark; and whether they were afraid that their deeds should be seen: but not heeding what she said, he took her down stairs, and whipped her with a three stringed whip. Then he brought down the ancient woman and did the like to her. And taking Elizabeth's daughter he gave the like to her also, *who never* was there before, neither had said *nor had* done any thing. After this Elizabeth



the mother was whipped again at a cart's tail at Boston and other places, where she came to see her friends: since which I have several times seen her in England in a good condition.

I could relate many more severities of the New-England persecutors; but I long to come to an end, and therefore shall make a long step, and outrun some space of time.

In the year 1664, it happened that Mary Tomkins and Alice Ambrose, came again to Boston, having been to Virginia, where they had not only been pilloried for their religion, but whipped also each of them with thirty two stripes, with a whip of nine cords, and every cord with three knots: and they were handled so severely, that the very first lash drew blood and made it run down from their breasts. Being afterwards arrived at Boston, Mary grew so sick, that she was thought to be near death: which made Edward Wharton with Wenlock Christison, come from Salem to visit her. But after they had been staying with her a little time, two constables came in, and notwithstanding Mary's weak condition forced them all to the governor's house. Now though Mary in appearance seemed to be a little on the mending hand, yet she was so ill that she fell down as it were dead in the way. But one of the constables staid with her till she came to herself *again, and then* brought her before the governor.

where was also deputy Bellingham and Thomas Daufort, one of the magistrates; who ordered all four of them to be whipped; but because Mary was so weak, and lest probably she might die under their hands, they gave order that she and Alice should not be whipped at Boston, but at the towns beyond. And this was to have been executed, but that Colonel Temple coming in, interceded and prevailed for three of them. And now Edward became the mark of their fury, on whom they vented their passion, though they had nothing to charge him with, but that he was come from Salem to Boston, to visit his sick friend: and for this pretended crime the following warrant was framed:

To the constables of Boston, Charleston, Malder, and Lynn.

"You are required to take into your custody respectively Edward Wharton, convicted of being a vagabond, from his own dwelling place: and the constable of Boston is to whip him severely with thirty stripes on his naked body. And from constable to constable you are required to convey him until he come to Salem, the place where he saith he dwelleth; and in so doing this shall be your warrant.

"John Endicot."

Dated at Boston the 30th of June, 1664.



Pursuant to this warrant, Edward (who therein was called a vagabond, for no other reason but that he was gone from his dwelling place) was led away to the market place, and there being stripped, his arms were bound to the wheel of a great gun. Then the constable, John Loel, bade the hangman to do his work severely; which he did so cruelly that it was testified peas might lie in the holes that the knots of the whip had made in the flesh of his arms and back. And his body was swelled and very black from the waist upwards. Such was the doing of those, who to enjoy the free exercise of their worship, had left Old England: and thus they treated a man who was of good repute, and had lived in that country above twenty years; and was once by the governor himself acknowledged to be his friend, when he supplied him with necessaries in his want, saying then, that if ever it did lay in his power he would requite him: which now he did, but in what an inhuman and barbarous manner! That this governor Endicot had been once a man of but mean condition, appears from a letter written to him shortly after the death of Mary Dyar, by one John Smith, because he had not only caused his wife to be whipped severely, but had also kept her prisoner a whole winter, separate from her children, and had been assisting in making an *order that no* man or woman should bring any

thing to the imprisoned Quakers, or carry any thing from them, upon the penalty of five pounds for the first time, and ten pounds for the second. In this letter John Smith said:

"O my spirit is grieved for thee, because that the love I once did see in thee is departed from thee, and there remaineth in thee a spirit of cruelty, of hard-heartedness to thy poor neighbours, whom thou hast formerly been much beholden to, and helped by, in time of want, when thou hadst no bread to eat. O consider these times and forget them not, and of the love thou didst find amongst poor people in thy necessity, and how evil thou hast dealt with, and requited some of them now; and how thou dost walk and act contrary to what thou didst formerly profess; yea I have heard thee say that all the armies on earth cannot subdue one lust in man or woman. And now thou pronouncest sentence of death upon some, because they cannot submit to your wills, nor worship as ye do."

But I return to Edward Wharton, who after his whipping was not led the direct way to Salem, but by Charleston, and so about the country, as if they had a mind to make a show of him; *yet at* Charleston the constable was so compassionate, that he entertained him in his house,

and anointed his stripes; and the next day he was conveyed to his home. Since that time the said Wharton was whipped again severely: but to avoid prolixity I pass by particulars. Yet I cannot forbear to say, that before he was whipped at Boston, as hath been said, it was told him that if he would promise the governor to come no more to the Quakers' meeting in Boston, then it was likely the governor would let him have his liberty: to which Edward returned, "Not for all the world. And friends I have a back to lend to the smiter, and I have felt your cruel whippings before now, and the Lord hath made me able to bear them; and as I abide in his fear, I need not fear what you shall be suffered to do unto me."

The case of one Anne Needham being also very remarkable, I will give a short hint of it. She was fined at Boston for being one of those called Quakers; but her husband refusing to pay the fine, asking them seeing the law for adultery was death, whether if his wife had committed adultery, he must by that law have suffered death. She then was sentenced to be whipped, which the constable Thomas Roots performed with great cruelty; for seeing she kept silent whilst he lashed her, he did whatever he could, with his tormenting whip, to make her cry out, but all his endeavours proved in

vain: which made him say that the Quakers were a hard-hearted people; though this epithet much better fitted himself, and all those cruel persecutors that were really become hard-hearted to the highest degree insomuch that they had not only shaken off all humanity, but all true sense of piety, which I shall prove by instances, some of which are even blasphemous.

One Barlow, who formerly had been a preacher at Exeter, afterwards turned lawyer, and at length having become a marshal, would boast that when he went to destrain for fines, he would think what goods were most serviceable to the Quakers, and then he would take them away. By such doings he encouraged others in vice; for a certain Indian taking a knife from an Englishman's house, and being told he should not steal, answered that he himself had thought so, but now he saw that Barlow and the magistrates did so by the Quakers. This Barlow in the days of Cromwell being grown rich with the spoils of the innocent, grew poor after king Charles was restored: which made Barlow say that he hoped for a good time again; and took the shameful liberty to add, he thought the Quakers would not suffer him to want.

At Hampton, priest Seaborn Cotton, understanding that one Eliakim Wardel had entertained Wenlock Christison, went with some of his herd to Eliakim's house, having like a stur-



dy herdsman put himself at the head of his followers, with a truncheon in his hand. Wenlock seeing him in this posture, enquired of him what he was going to do with that great club; to which he answered he came to keep the wolves from his sheep. Wenlock then asking him whether those he led were his sheep, got no answer, but instead of that was led away by this crew to Salisbury. This same Cotton having heard that Major Shapleigh was become a Quaker, said he was sorry for it, but he would endeavour to convert him. And afterwards drinking in a house in an isle on the river Piscatoway, and hearing the major was there in a warehouse, he went thither; but going upstairs, and being in drink, he tumbled down and got such a heavy fall, that the major himself came to help up this drunken converter.

When Edward Wharton was told once by governor Endicot, that every soul ought to be subject to the higher power; he thereupon asked whether that which set up the golden image, and required all to fall down and worship it, was the higher power: he answered, "Yea." Then Edward queried whether the power that required Daniel to be cast into the lions den, for praying to any besides the king for thirty days, was the higher power: the governor said "Yea." The next question Edward asked was, *whether the* three children that were cast into

the fiery furnace for not falling down to, and worshipping the golden image, did well: and whether Daniel for praying to his God contrary to what the said higher power did command, did well: the governor replied "Yea" also. But secretary Rawson seeing how the governor had talked himself into a noose, to help him out said, they did obey the higher power by suffering: to which Edward returned, "So do we too."

Another of these magistrates whose name was Brian Pembleton, was asked by George Walton and his wife Alice, who was reputed one of the most godly women thereabout, what the anointing was which the apostle John exhorted the saints unto in that day: but what a wicked man this Pembleton was, may appear by the abominable answer he gave, viz, that John was either a fool or a mad man, or else he did not know what he said. And blasphemous in a very high degree was what he said to the question, "What was that light which shone about Paul?" For his answer was It was the light of the devil for aught he did know.

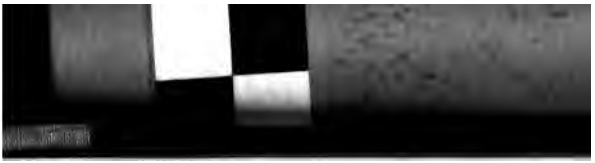
Joshua Scotaway, also one of the magistrates asked Mary Tomkins in the court at Boston, where she dwelt: to which she answered in the words of the apostle, "In God; for in him we *live* and move, and have our being." To which *Scotaway* did not hesitate to say, "So doth every *dog* and cat." No wonder truly, that men thus



darkened in their minds, grew also quite hardened in persecuting, so as to glory in it; as did Thomas Daufort a magistrate of Cambridge, who in the governor's house at Boston, laying his hand on Wenlock Christison's shoulder, said to him, "Wenlock, I am a mortal man, and die I must, and that ere long; and I must appear at the tribunal seat of Christ, and must give an account for my deeds done in the body; and I believe it will be my greatest glory in that day, that I have given my vote for thee to be soundly whipped at this time." This made Wenlock say, "O wicked man, if thou hast nothing to glory in in that day, but in drawing the blood of the innocent, and in laying stripes upon the servants of the living God, thy glory will be turned into shame, and wo will be thy portion."

But no exhortation, how extraordinary soever, seemed to take any hold on these persecutors: for once a girl of thirteen or fourteen years of age, called Hannah Wright, whose sister had been banished for religion, was stirred with such zeal, that coming from Long Island, some hundreds of miles from Boston, into that bloody town, she appeared in the court there, and warned the magistrates to spill no more innocent blood. This saying so struck them at first, that they all sat silent; till Rawson the secretary said, "What shall we be baffled by *such a one as this*: come let us drink a dram!"

Here we see the religion of these men, who were once so precise that they would not join with the worship of the church of England. But it seems not improbable that they fell away to this hardness of heart, because being convinced in their understandings of some superstitious ceremonies that were yet remaining in the church of England, they were not faithful to testify against those things, and to set their light on the candlestick; but that to shun the cross and avoid sufferings, they chose to go into a strange country. And yet they were so presumptuous as to say they were the purest church on earth, and their magistrates and preachers very godly men, and it may be some of their cruel executioners seeing how their magistrates (as hath been said of Thomas Daufort) did glory in cruelty, have been foolish enough to persuade themselves that their excessive whipping was some kind of meritorious work. But whatever these English people thought, they were worse than others: for in some places of America lived also Swedes, who in regard of their worship were no less despised by the English, than the old Samaritans by the Jews; and yet these Swedes entertained the Quakers when they came amongst them, far better than the English did; *and thus* they made it appear that they surpassed *them in life*, if not in profession. But the precise *New-England* men seemed to place great virtue



in a sturdy severity, of which this following is an instance.

A Dutchman, an Ostender, whose name was John Lawrence, was committed for adultery, and brought before the court at Boston, where the governor John Endicot, asked him whether he was guilty or not guilty: to which the prisoner, who as it seems spoke but bad English, said "No guilt." On which Endicot said in a scoffing manner. "No gelt; there's no money:" for gheld signifies money in Dutch. Thus the Dutchman's words and meaning were scoffingly perverted; and though there was no clear evidence against him, yet he was condemned to be hanged; but he denying the fact, the execution was deferred; and in the meanwhile the priests, John Wilson and James Mayo, came to him in prison to see what they could get out of him; and Mayo told him his time was near at an end, and that he must shortly die; and therefore he would have him now to confess. To which the prisoner returned, "What will you have me to confess that which I never did?" But Mayo did not desist, but said, "Confess my son, and give glory to God." Yet the prisoner continued in denying the charge, and affirmed he was clear. But said the priest, "You cannot be clear; for our Lord and Saviour saith, "Whosoever looketh upon a fair woman, and lusteth *after her, hath committed adultery with her*

already in his heart." Truly a very perverse use of the scripture for compassing a false end. But the Dutchman seeing how they came to betray him, was cautious; and at length after a long and tedious imprisonment, found means to break prison, and thus escaped from those who grew accustomed to be merciless; so that sometimes others as well as Quakers, felt the weight of their severity.

As it happened about the time that William Leddra was put to death, when one Elizabeth Nicholson and her two sons, Christopher and Joseph were charged with the death of her husband and their father Edmond Nicholson, who was found dead in the sea; and information being given that these people did shew love to those they called cursed Quakers, they were all three fetched from their habitation at Salem and carried to Boston, and were tried for their lives merely on suspicion; but nothing of murder was proved against them; yet the mother was fined a great sum, and her two sons were sentenced to stand under the gallows certain hours with ropes about their necks, and to be whipped in the market place, which was performed accordingly. And because these young men were not daunted, priest Wilson standing by, said, "Ah, *cursed* generation." And at Salem they were *whipped* also, which was done so mercilessly that *one of* the young men sunk down, or died away

under the torture, though he was raised up and came to life again.

By this we may see how these New England persecutors were become inured to excessive severity. But before I leave them, I must also mention the dreadful exit of some of them.

The last act of the governor Endicot's bloody part that occurs, was the cruel whipping of Edward Wharton at Boston, related before; for the time was now come that he must go off the stage, to give an account of his extravagant severity before another tribunal than that of his sanguinary court. The measure of his iniquity was now filled up, and he was visited with a loathsome disease, insomuch that he stunk alive, and so died with rottenness, his name being like to give a bad savour through ages to come.

Yet more remarkable was the death of major general Adderton, who when Mary Dyar was hanged, said scoffingly, and in an insulting way, that she hung as a flag, for others to take example by; and who also, when Wenlock Christison being condemned to death, warned the persecutors because of the righteous judgments of God, presumptuously said, "You pronounce woes and judgments, and those that are gone before you, pronounced woes and judgments; but the judgments of the Lord God are not come upon *us as yet.*" But how he himself was struck by

these judgments and served for an example to others, we are to see now.

He, upon a certain day, having exercised his soldiers, and riding proudly on his horse towards his house, when he came about the place were usually they loosed the Quakers so called, from the cart, after they had whipped them, a cow came and crossed the way, at which his horse taking a fright, threw him down so violently, that he died, his eyes being started out of his head, his brains out of his nose, his tongue out of his mouth, and his blood out of his ears. Thus God's judgments came upon him suddenly and unawares.

And John Norton, the chief priest of Boston, died likewise on a sudden. It was he who promoted the putting to death of those martyrs that died at Boston, as hath been related; and when he saw the magistrates paused upon the execution of W. Robinson and M. Stevenson, he encouraged them thereto, especially because John Winthrop, governor of Connecticut, earnestly dissuaded the shedding of innocent blood. He it was also, who when William Brend was beaten so barbarously with a rope, as hath been related in its due place, did not hesitate to say, since William Brend endeavoured to beat their *gospel* ordinances black and blue, it was but *just upon* him if he was beaten black and blue *also*. But this Norton was now struck with a

blow that made him sink; for having been at his worship house in the forenoon, and intending to go in the afternoon, as he was walking in the house he fetched a great groan, and leaning his head against the mantel tree of the chimney, he was heard to say, "The hand, or the judgments of the Lord are upon me." These were his last words, and he sunk down, and had fallen into the fire if he had not been caught by somebody that was present. More examples of this nature I could produce, but these may suffice.

What I have related of these cruelties and much more, was published in print about that time, that so the king and parliament of England might know what happened there; for those actions, were come into public view, and known there all about the country. All that they did was to set a false colour upon their severity, and to disguise matters: and it was their happiness that they had not to do with revengeful people, else they might have been involved in great straits: but the friends of the persecuted committed vengeance to God, though some of the great ones in England advised them to sue the persecutors, which according to law they might have done.

Richard Bellingham, a fierce persecutor, and governor *after* John Endicot, went distracted *ten years after*, and so died. Not long before

William Coddington, governor of Rhode Is
wrote a letter to him, wherein he put hi
mind of the former times; for he (the said
dington) had been one of the first erecte
colonies in New England, and the first
built an house at Boston, and afterwards
magistrate seven years, but when persec
arose he declared against it; and the cas
debated three days in the court, but the m
ate party was the weakest, and was oppos
all the priests, except John Cotton, who said
membered how at their departure from En
he had preached on Acts. iv. 11, and had sl
from that text that there was an inward
which was to be minded, and that therefo
would not give his vote for persecutir
assertors of that doctrine; shewing th
much more sense of religion than the
persecuting priests. Now though Coddi
was one of the greatest merchants or trad
that county, and in all probability might
acquired great riches there, yet seeing his
counsel was not hearkened to, he resolv
depart that place, and to go and live some
else. But whatever he said to Bellin
this man remained hardened like Pharaoh
ing shewed himself cruel, even when
Fisher and Anne Austin first came to E
where he treated them in a barbarous ma

Yet one thing remarkable I may



here, which when I first heard, I could not fully give credit to; but thinking it worth the while to make a narrow inquiry into it, I did so, not only by writing, but also from the mouths of persons that had been eye-witnesses, or had been informed by such; and from these I got this concurring testimony; viz. that the country about Boston was formerly a very fruitful soil that produced excellent wheat; but that since the time that this town had been stained with the blood of the Quakers, so called, no wheat &c. would grow to perfection within twenty miles, though the ground had been ploughed and sown several times; for sometimes what was sown was spoiled by vermin or insects; at other times it grew up, but scarcely yielded more than was sown, and so could not countervail the charge; and in another year the expected harvest was quashed by another accident; and these disappointments continuing many years, the people at length grew weary of making farther trial, and so left the ground untilled; nothwithstanding that twenty miles off from Boston the soil is fruitful, and yields very good corn. But there having been so many reiterated instances of unfruitfulness nearer the town, ancient people that are alive still, and remember the first times, generally agree in their opinion that this is a judgment *from heaven*, and a curse on the land, be-

of the shedding of innocent blood at Boston. This relation I had from so many credible persons (though the one knew nothing of the other, as differing much in time) yet what they told me did so well agree in the main, that I could not but believe it, though I do not use to be credulous; and therefore I have been the more exact in my inquiry, so that I can no longer question the case; but it seems to me as a punishment on that blood-thirstiness which now hath ceased long ago.

In the Island of Barbadoes those called Quakers suffered also much by the people, instigated not a little by the priests, Samuel Graves, Matthew Gray, Thomas Manwaring, and Francis Smith; for these being often drunk, gave occasion thereby to be reproved: and one Thomas Clark, coming once into the place of public worship, and exhorting the auditors to desist from lewdness and to fear God, was so grievously beaten with sticks, that he fell down in a swoon; and Graves who had preached then, went to the house of the said Clark, pulled his wife out of doors, and tore her clothes from her back. And Manwaring, who had threatened Clark that he would procure a law to be made, by which his ears should be cut off, once wrote in a letter to him, "I am *sorry that* your zeal surpasseth your moderation, *and that* a club must beat out of you what the

devil hath inspired." And this was because Clark had told him that his conversation was not becoming a minister of the gospel. Other rough treatment that Clark met with I pass by, though once he was set in the stocks and imprisoned. But now I leave America, and return to England.

END OF VOL. II.

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